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THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF AMERICA *

By FREDERICK C. GRANT, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

The Protestant Episcopal Church is a member of that family of churches known as the Anglican Communion—in more technical language, it is one of the churches which are in communion with the See of Canterbury. The recognition of this fact, and its implications, is indispensable to an understanding alike of the history and the present outlook of Episcopalianism in this country. It is not enough to trace its descent from the Church of England; though this descent explains some features in its history, it is quite clear that dependence upon the English Establishment was not an un-mixed blessing, in colonial days, and also that Episcopalianism is something more than the survival or extension of a State Church, under new conditions, in a nation no longer governed by the British Crown. Just as the United States of America has grown into something more and different from a group of liberated colonies, so the Episcopal Church is something more and different from the Church of England in these States. It is a free, autonomous Church in a free, autonomous nation.

Moreover, Anglicanism, or the Anglican Communion as a whole, has grown and developed remarkably since the close of

* An address delivered at the Harvard Divinity School, June 25, 1936, during the Tercentenary Session of Harvard University.

the 18th century. Even in the British dominions it is no longer looked upon chiefly as the State Church extended into other countries than England—though one must remember that even in the 18th century the Church of England was not the only Established Church under the British Crown, and that the Episcopal Church of Scotland, for example, was an autonomous Anglican Church, independent of the English Establishment. Anglicanism at the present day is a name for that type of faith and order professed by a wide group of independent Reformed Churches, located in various countries, maintaining fellowship and communion with one another and with their Mother Church, the Church of England. This unity and fellowship are fitly symbolized by the decennial gatherings of the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference, the most recent of which was held in 1930. It is no longer a State Church extended into colonies and dependencies, but a federation of free churches acknowledging a common faith and observing a common order. The Protestant Episcopal Church is one of the independent churches forming this group within non-Roman, Western Christianity; it is one among several branches of the Anglican Communion.

The importance of this definition is obvious, if we are to trace the contribution of the Episcopal Church to the religious life of America. For we are not concerned with the formal history or outlook or religious life of a static, unchanging institution, but with the growth and movement of a body which has steadily changed and developed a clearer consciousness of its own essential nature and character. And yet the change has not been a revolutionary one: the constant factors are quite as apparent as the variable ones; and the antecedents of later development were clearly present in the earlier stages—say in the 18th century, and even in the 17th and 16th.

I

The beginnings of the Episcopal Church in this country are properly identified with the settlement at Jamestown in

Virginia, in the year 1607. Earlier instances of the use of the Prayer Book, as at Drake's Bay near San Francisco, or at Roanoke Island in 1587, or at Monhegan Island off the coast of Maine, can scarcely be claimed among the influences of Episcopalianism upon the religious life of America, interesting and important as they are in other connections. But it was not only the Jamestown colonists, representing the London Company, who bore the marks of Episcopalianism; the Northern or Plymouth Company, whose proprietors were Devonshire men, and who settled in New England, were also in origin English Churchmen; both groups were Puritan—all but the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth in 1620, who had already separated from the Church of England. True, the divergent directions in which the two colonies developed ecclesiastically were soon apparent; but in origin and antecedents both were much the same. This fact deserves more recognition than it has received: the history of New England, and of the United States as a whole, has too often been viewed as an epic of the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants. Both groups of colonists, north and south, were middle-class Englishmen, for the most part, driven from England by unfavorable economic and social conditions, with a sprinkling, in both colonies, of men of education and breeding. Not all the Virginia colonists were cavaliers; not all the first settlers of Massachusetts and New England were Puritan theologians. In both areas there settled groups of English church-people, and their religious traditions were those of the village church and its services and customs in the beloved and unforgotten homeland. They were Puritans; but that meant members of a group within the Church of England, a restive group, but not yet outside it. The classic words of the settlers at Salem in 1630 may have voiced the feelings of other colonists as well:

"Farewell, dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it: but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation and propagate the Gospel in America."

As Governor Winthrop wrote:

. . . We "esteem it our honor to call the Church of England our dear mother, and we cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received it in her bosom, and suckt it from her breasts."

The divergent later developments of the Virginia and Massachusetts colonies were undoubtedly due, as historians now acknowledge, to the diverse influences of soil, climate, and human leadership. The large plantations of Virginia, the consequently sparser settlement of the country (by 1622, the colony extended for a hundred and forty miles up the James River), the less rigorous climate—these and other natural and social factors contributed toward the preservation of the traditional ecclesiastical organization and outlook. On the other hand, the more crowded, more intensive, more competitive life of the Massachusetts colonists undoubtedly led to a development of independence in theological and political thinking unknown in other colonies. But it would be quite wrong to overlook the more or less identical origin of both groups. The first contribution of Episcopacy, or of Anglicanism, or of the Church of England—whatever name we choose—to the religious life of America, was the population and the traditions of these earliest colonies, both nurtured in the bosom of 'our dear mother,' the Church of England.

Of that quality of human leadership, which I have mentioned, one cannot speak in detail without first establishing his standards of judgment. Yet surely no one will question the immense influence which was exerted, from the very beginning, by the New England clergy, nor the decisive importance of this great seat of learning whose Tercentenary we now celebrate. Our forefathers brought with them to this region the ideals of a learned ministry; and among them were a number of scholars and pastors who came, significantly, from Emmanuel College, Cambridge—the home of 'the Cambridge Platonists' in the 17th century, men who kept alight the sacred lamp of sane and rational theology while the tempests

of ecclesiastical controversy raged and roared without. One would like to know more about the ties which bound together those scholars and saints and pioneers in the two Cambridges, on either side the Atlantic.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the London Company had similar plans for a college in Virginia, to educate both English and Indian youths. An endowment of 10,000 acres of land was set aside; the English Archbishops contributed £1500, the Bishop of London another thousand. Other donors, including the saintly Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding, gave money, Bibles, Prayer Books, and communion plate. One donor gave his library. But alas, the project was scarcely begun when the Indians fell upon the colony, and the first Rector of the college was killed upon his arrival. Such are the fates that interfere with human plans and alter human destiny. What were the lasting effects upon the South, and upon the development of the Episcopal Church in this country, of the delay in establishing a college south of the Potomac (William and Mary was founded in 1693), are apparent to all students of the history of religious thought in America. All honor to those who succeeded in establishing this College in New England: theirs was indeed

‘The glory of going on, and not to fail.’

II

The long history of the Episcopal Church during the period from 1607 to the Revolution and its formal organization as an independent religious body in 1789, is a history of too greatly prolonged dependence upon the Mother Church of England. The contentions and controversies which occupied the minds of Englishmen during those two centuries were reflected in the colonies, and few persons suspected that a new nation was in the making this side the Atlantic. The political and economic dependence of America upon Great Britain was almost axiomatic for most English statesmen of the period, and the dependence of the Church was equally taken for granted.

Hence the incessant appeals of churchmen in the colonies for the appointment and consecration of bishops of their own fell upon deaf ears: the Anglicans continued to be shepherded by commissaries of the Bishop of London. And although missionaries were sent out in considerable numbers, especially after the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, it was a serious handicap to the Episcopalians that those ministers who were educated here had to go to London for ordination, while the others, who came out as missionaries, were still native Englishmen and never shared completely the aims and point of view of their American-born flocks. One result was apparent, for example, in the choice of many of the clergy to remain loyal to the King, when the growing independence of the colonies finally led to the Revolution. Another result, less specific in character but no less real, was the unpopularity of the Church. The conditions that led to the migration of families to America in the 17th century favored the non-Episcopalians. In the minds of many, Episcopacy was synonymous with tyranny, and bishops were remembered as aristocrats who drove about in coach-and-four. Even though the Episcopal Church was by law established in Virginia, in Maryland, and in the Carolinas, and though Maine and New Hampshire were founded by Churchmen, and though 'the Protestant Church' meant the Episcopal church, in New York, and though some headway was made among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and elsewhere, it tended more and more to be viewed by the colonists generally as a relic of the past, as the Church of the Motherland which was now maintained by those whose ties with England were strongest, viz. the well-to-do, the official class, and the aristocracy.

Nevertheless, hampered as it was by this prolonged dependence upon the English Church and Crown, notable advances were made in some directions. In Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas the Church grew steadily, in Connecticut and New York and Pennsylvania it was identified with proj-

ects for the advancement of learning: William and Mary College, and the institutions which are now Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania were founded by Churchmen. Yale had its 'Dark Day,' when the Faculty adopted Episcopalianism; Bishop Berkeley, the philosopher, visited Newport with a project for another Church University; and even in Puritan Boston, King's Chapel was founded and grew to great influence. The contribution of the Episcopal Church to the religious life of America, during the colonial period and later, through the foundation of institutions of religion and learning, is accordingly one of the most important which it has made.

III

The history of the Church during the one hundred and three-score years since the Revolution cannot, upon this occasion, be sketched even in outline. It survived that vast change in the political structure of the nation, and it more than survived: for its positive contributions are embedded deeply in the fundamental institutions of American Government. The Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Episcopal Church are closely similar, and for the best of reasons: the authors of the one were in large part the authors of the other. Though the popular attitude was reflected in such a phrase as 'the Church of the scarlet coat and the Scarlet Woman,' though its earlier alliance with the Crown, and the outward likenesses it still bore to the Church of Rome, formed obstacles in the way of general understanding and approval, it nevertheless made slow but steady progress. Bishops were consecrated, at long last, in Scotland and in England, and Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, William White of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Provoost of New York entered upon their labors as the founders of the Anglican Episcopate in this country. In Maryland the name, 'Protestant Episcopal,' was chosen, and became the legal title of this church. The Prayer Book was revised to meet the new conditions, the Constitution and Canons of the Church were formally adopted,

and the Church was independently launched in 1789. It was not established, however, as a church apart from the rest of the Anglican Communion, as the care exercised in securing Episcopal consecration clearly proves. Every effort was made, and at great cost of time and patience, to retain continuity and to maintain fellowship with the Church of England and the other branches of the Anglican family. Nevertheless, the Church was still heavily handicapped by popular mistrust and disfavor. "No other religious body was seriously injured by the American Revolution. The Church was almost destroyed."¹ It was not until after the War of 1812 that political and religious prejudice against 'the English Church' was really allayed. Men of all churches joined in the ranks to resist once more the tyranny of the English government, and went into battle singing the new national anthem, written by a Maryland churchman, Francis Scott Key. It was clear at last that Episcopalians were not British agents in disguise.

The period following the Revolution was one of religious decline and disillusionment in many parts of the new country, from which the Great Awakening had by no means adequately safeguarded it. Its appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect and the will left its results somewhat superficial, while its disregard of stable order and the whole institutional side of religion made it impossible to prolong the initial fervor of its own movement. The full tide of this emotional type of religion was felt on the new frontier, west of the Alleghanies, where the conditions of life favored an informal kind of worship and discouraged an intellectual type of preaching and ministry. Here the Episcopal Church was more severely handicapped than ever, though under the leadership of such men as Hobart, Chase, Otey, Kemper, and Breck the lines of advance into the wilderness were clearly marked.

The importance of the frontier for the understanding of American history, both political and intellectual, has been made amply evident by the work of such a historian as

¹ George Hodges, *The Episcopal Church in America*, p. 78.

Harvard's own Frederick Jackson Turner. Its importance for our religious history is equally clear. Old-world attitudes and conceptions were at last dropped into the melting-pot, where men and women of all the European nations mingled with settlers from the Atlantic seaboard. The traditions of the frontier were brought hither from many other parts of the earth besides England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Holland and Germany. Puritan and Churchman were both represented; but so were Lutherans, Moravians, Roman Catholics, in greater proportions than were ever known in the original colonies along the Atlantic. As the frontier moved still farther westward, and territory was occupied which had long been French or Spanish, or even, eventually, Russian (on the Pacific coast), new conditions 'taught new duties,' and time apparently 'made ancient good uncouth.' It was no longer possible to assume that the settled order of things which had grown up during the two preceding centuries was one that was final and irrevocable, or that forms of theology and of worship which had satisfied the requirements of pre-revolutionary days, or the established systems of Europe, would remain permanent. The Church was called to put forth fresh creative efforts if it was to expand and grow and meet the conditions of the new West.

The most significant event in the history of the Episcopal Church during this period was the Jubilee Convention of 1835, where it was 'definitely proclaimed that the whole Church is a missionary society, and every baptized member of it a missionary.' This year marked the turning-point: Jackson Kemper was made bishop of the Northwest, and two young men set forth, from the General Seminary in New York and from the Virginia Seminary at Alexandria, as missionaries to China. Out of their labors, and those of others, has grown the widespread missionary work of the Episcopal Church at home and abroad.

The changing outlook of the Church was marked in two other ways, first by the growth of a national church con-

sciousness, superior to the sense of diocesan independence which had characterized the Church hitherto, a feeling closely parallel to that which underlay the political doctrine of States' Rights. The missionary undertakings of the Church had more to do with this growing sense of national solidarity than any other one factor: for the feeling of corporate responsibility led to an awareness of corporate unity. The second feature was a new realization of the responsibility of the Church toward other religious groups. This was expressed in the famous memorial presented to the House of Bishops, in 1853, by the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, raising the question 'whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical and traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men.' The limitations upon the Church's effectiveness, of which the memorialists complained, were due to the survival of too great a body of the canons and rubrics of the English Church, unsuited to a new time and new conditions. They proposed to relax somewhat the requirements of uniformity in the conduct of the Prayer Book services, and to admit to communion members of other churches 'without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed.' Bishops were to be given greater freedom of initiative, and ministers and congregations of other churches were to be welcomed into greater fellowship than at that time existed in any Christian body. Although the outbreak of the Civil War interfered with the proposed action, there can be no doubt that the 'Muhlenberg Memorial' expressed a growing sense of national corporate responsibility, and led to those movements toward Church Unity which have been characteristic of the Episcopal Church since the middle of the past century. It belongs to the very ethos of Anglicanism to hold a comprehensive, sympathetic, conciliatory attitude toward our brethren of other Christian churches; though there have been examples to the contrary, it remains true that

comprehension and conciliation are the more fundamental and characteristic attitude, the more permanent and continuous, and that they have always triumphed in the end. Deriving directly from that Church which is the mother of English-speaking Christianity, of Dissenter and Non-Conformist and Churchman alike, how could it be otherwise?

This strong sense of corporate unity and solidarity, put to the test and proven by the Civil War (when no breach in the Church's continuity took place), was clearly evident once more in the proposal for the reunion of Christendom set forth, in 1886, under the title: 'A Declaration on Christian Unity.' This famous proposal, the anniversary of which is to be observed by the Pan-American Conference of Bishops, meeting at Chicago this year, was known as the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. It proposed four essentials to the restoration of Christian unity: the Scriptures, the two Creeds (Apostles' and Nicene), the two Sacraments (Baptism and the Lord's Supper), and the Historic Episcopate—'locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.' These proposed points of agreement are simple enough, and, though couched in the language of the 80's, are sufficiently defensible at the bar of history. Out of the proposal has grown the Commission on Faith and Order, and, it is not too much to claim, at least a large part of the interest in Christian Reunion which led to the Lausanne Conference in 1927 and is leading to the second Conference, at Edinburgh, in 1937.

IV

Christian humility, if not common modesty, would seem to dictate that others than Churchmen should appraise the contributions of the Episcopal Church to the religious life of America. And it might, indeed, be a very useful method, in advancing the cause of Christian unity, to invite men to appraise the contributions of religious groups other than their own. Nevertheless, though a partisan statement would be

unwanted and a breach of decorum, and will not under any circumstances be undertaken, and though it is often impossible

'To see oursel's as ithers see us,'

still one speaking from within the Anglican Tradition may at least offer testimony to what many others have recognized as among the outstanding contributions of the Episcopal Church to the religious life of America.

First and most obvious is its emphasis upon the dignity of divine worship. As Phidias carved the very hairs on the head of his divine *Athênê*, though never to be seen by the populace below, so the Anglican looks upon worship as something offered to God, who is objectively real and present. It is no mere technique or apparatus for self-edification. Hence every detail must be worthy of the God to Whom it is rendered. Hence too the hymns, which are not as a rule addressed to the individual or to the fellowship, but to God, or at least deal with objective, historical realities. Hence, too, the quality of the music, which is appropriate to the high ends of divine worship and must not be degraded to any lower levels. Hence also the use of vestments, not in the interest of making-over divine worship into a pageant, but out of a sense of dignity and fitness. Hence too the very architecture of the church, whose interior arrangements stress the objective reality of God and worship as something actually done and offered, corporately, in addition to the private devotion of the worshipper in the pew. Hence too the use of a Prayer Book, with its choice treasures of our common liturgical inheritance, the fitting companion of the English Bible, noble in diction, restrained in feeling, and appealing throughout to the dedication of men's wills to the service of God. There are those who find liturgical worship cold and formal; nevertheless the contribution which the Episcopal Church has made to the elevation and dignity of Christian worship in all the churches is more apparent today than ever before. As a people, we are getting further away from the free informality of the frontier. We shall do well if

we preserve the directness and insistence upon reality which characterized life on the frontier, and combine with it the beauty and dignity of a liturgical tradition almost as old as Christianity, and familiar to English-speaking Christians through many centuries. We do not profess to speak as the sole guardians of this tradition, nor presume that our own Prayer Book is its perfect exponent. Our Prayer Book needs further revision and enrichment; and our services need still further improvement. Nevertheless, the contribution already made in this field, and still to be made, by the Episcopal Church, is ever more and more widely recognized by those leaders in all the churches who are concerned with the importance of divine worship.

Another contribution has been the fundamental one of the sacramental conception of religion and of the ministry. We are not discarnate spirits floating unseen in the ether of empty space, but human souls indwelling bodies—mortal bodies, it is true, but real while they last. It is the most natural of assumptions therefore that the human body should share in the ministrations of religion, that Baptism should be the outward sign and seal of spiritual regeneration, that Bread and Wine should mediate that Life by which, as Christians, we live 'in Christ.' Our theology is the theology of the Incarnation; our sacraments, our ministry, the Church itself, are viewed as 'the extension of the Incarnation.' It is a Theocentric theology, rather than one centered in the Atonement, or even in Christ. As sacramental, its implications for the social welfare of men are quite as obvious as for 'the individual in his solitariness'—and these implications have been pointed out with increasing clarity and force by men and women of all schools of thought in the Church, Anglo-Catholics as well as Evangelicals and Broad-Churchmen. The influence of this two-fold emphasis may be seen even farther afield than among our Protestant contemporaries: men of every faith and of no faith are coming to recognize that religion, if it is real, must come to grips with the present actual life of men in a world still far

from finished and perfect, and not yet—or no longer—deserving the commendation of its Maker, who 'saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.'

Again, the emphasis upon the principle of comprehension has been a salutary one in a country which has been described as 'the paradise of sects.' Simple though its credal basis has always been, the Anglican Church has exhibited—in the words of the late Bishop Anderson—"a combination of tolerance and conviction, of comprehensiveness with positiveness," that appears to have been and still is of far-reaching influence, throughout the length and breadth of American religious life. Here too it would be folly to speak as the sole exponents of such a combination of qualities. Other religious groups have shared it as well. But at least it is one contribution the Episcopal Church has made and is still making to our common religious life and thought. The influence of such a preacher of Christian faith and duty as Bishop Phillips Brooks cannot be measured by his impact upon any one denomination. He belongs to the whole Christian Church; and there have been other advocates of the same message.

One signal instance of this emphasis upon essentials combined with tolerance in non-essentials is the attitude of the Church toward Biblical Criticism and historical criticism generally. Without relaxing its faith in the Inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, and in the divine Revelation which lay behind them, the Church has set its scholars free to pursue truth whithersoever it led them. Here also 'Wisdom has been justified by her children.'

To any one unfamiliar with Anglican habits and ways of thought, it must seem that the Episcopal Church is an artificial organization, holding together by some quite superficial bond—perhaps to be sought in the area of social custom—at least three distinct denominations which, in some forthcoming crisis, will promptly separate and go their several ways. How otherwise can one Church contain, e.g., such diverse groups as Catholics, Evangelicals, and Modernists? The answer is that

each group shares with all the others a loyalty to the Church which is superior to their loyalty to party or school of thought. 'Separation for opinion's sake,' in Matthew Arnold's phrase, is really looked upon by Anglicans as utter folly. 'The unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' is viewed as something more than a remote ideal—as in fact a state of life which is normal to the Church. Differences of opinion there are, and of methods, and even of principles of faith and worship; but supreme above these is a sense of loyalty that carries with it positive duties which no one can ignore and still remain a Churchman. Here, again, we are far from claiming to be the sole, or even the most exemplary, representatives of 'the Church idea,' as opposed to the divisive or sectarian principle; but such as we are, we are, and the contribution of this principle to the religious life of America has been a very real one, and promises even greater fruits in the future. It is no idle dream when the Anglican Communion is referred to as 'the Bridge-Church,' or as 'the Church of the Reconciliation.' It is one of the dearest hopes of Anglicans everywhere that the now-divided Church of Christ may one day, and that soon, be once more reunited; and we cannot refrain from citing our own experience as in some sense, if not a perfect example, at least an experiment in Unity which has worked in the past and promises to make, in the future, a still greater contribution to the religious life of America, and of the whole world. As the late Bishop Brent put it, "A divided Church cannot meet the problems of the modern world."

The religious life appears to move regularly about three main centers: Institutionalism, Mysticism, and Rationalism. Not one of these is, exclusively, characteristic of Anglicanism; all are represented. The solution of the problem of religious unity and progress must deal with all three, and provide for their fair and free expression. Each represents values we cannot afford to discard or ignore. Though at times the Reformed Churches have appeared to favor one principle as against the others, they have only proved, in doing so, that the

Reformation was not yet complete, or that some tendency other than that of reformation has been at work. The long curve of history since the 16th century is not yet complete, and it is too soon to reckon up all the contributions of each and every religious group in the Protestant world. Yet when that history is complete, it will not be surprising if the greatest contribution the Episcopal Church has made will prove to have been its remarkable poise and balance, its ability to combine opposites, and to find room in the rounded whole of Christian faith, thought, devotion, and work for the most diverse of tendencies, which, diverse as they are, all have a right to claim their place in Christ's one, holy, catholic, apostolic Church.

THE PARTY OF CHRIST IN CORINTH

By MARY E. ANDREWS, Goucher College, Baltimore

This is no new subject. More than a century ago F. C. Baur, the eminent Tübingen theologian, published a lengthy article,¹ one section of which was entitled "Die Christus-Partei in der Korinthischen Gemeinde" in which he stated the main positions of his contemporaries, his answers to those positions and his own solution of the problem raised by Paul's reference to the factions in 1 Cor. 1: 12ff. Our great German contemporary, Hans Lietzmann has performed a similar service in our generation.² It will be interesting and instructive to indicate briefly, first, the conflicting opinions of a century ago, then those of our own time or of the more recent past.

A hundred years ago some scholars³ believed the party of Christ to be a group which looked to James, the Lord's brother, as its head. This is the human context of Paul's "to know Christ after the flesh" of 1 Cor. 9: 5 and 15: 7. Others⁴ saw this party as a group of neutrals growing out of the community strife between the followers of Paul, Peter, and Apollos, a group which depended upon Christian teaching created out of the sayings of Jesus in a primitive gospel. A modification of this position⁵ made the source the Christian teaching of Paul, Peter and Apollos, and the group one which rose above all sectarianism, giving up their special names to take that of Christ, while still another eminent scholar⁶ suggests that the party of Christ comprised those who claimed

¹ F. C. Baur, "Die Christus-Partei in der Korinthischen Gemeinde" in *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1831. Viertes Heft, III.

² Hans Lietzmann, *An Die Korinther*, 1/II (Tübingen, 1931), pp. 6-7.

³ Baur, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64, cites Storr's views.

⁴ Eichorn, cited by Baur, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁵ Pott, cited by Baur, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

⁶ Neander, cited by Baur, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

to have as good doctrine as the leaders, were better acquainted with Christianity than were Paul, Peter, and Apollos, and consequently were independent of the authority of selected eyewitnesses.

Baur demolishes these positions to his own satisfaction at least, and then turns to the theory for which he has the most respect: that there were not four parties, but only two, the Paul-Apollos and the Peter-Christ groups. The problem is to find the chief opposition between the parties of Peter and of Paul, and Baur's investigations here formed the basis for his well-known argument on the Peter-Paul divisions of early Christianity. Briefly, this position may be expressed in these terms:⁷ the Jewish-Christian party arrogated Christ to itself, calling themselves the true Christians. They were the disciples of the Messiah. Baur finds the clue in Paul's defense of his apostolic authority. Peter never was in Corinth, but the "false apostles" who called themselves by his name reached Corinth. They had a special zeal for the Law of Moses, but in a Gentile community legalism was not a burning issue, so they attacked Paul's apostolic authority. This was the party of Peter so named because he was the chief among the Jewish apostles and had had the direct connection with Jesus which had been denied to Paul. In this view "Christ according to the flesh" is the Messiah of Judaism. Baur finds nothing that would justify the conclusion that these "of Christ" were a party at all. Rather the issue was sharply drawn between true and false Christianity.

From Lietzmann we learn what a half dozen more recent major figures in the world of New Testament scholarship believe in regard to this puzzle of the party of Christ in Corinth. Lietzmann states Jülicher's position as the most probable: they were those in 2 Cor. 10: 2 who abrogated Paul's authority, who held that they needed no human teacher, but received direct from Christ what the Spirit gave. Schmiedel sees in the party of Christ extreme Judaists, Lütgert sees them

⁷ Theory of J. C. Schmidt, Baur, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-84.

as *pneumatikoi* and antinomian Gnostics, while Heinrici after canvassing the opinions of others decides that they are a reader's gloss and Johannes Weiss agrees! Reitzenstein denies the existence of a party of Christ, believing that the words *ego de Christou* were added under the rhetorical compulsion for a fourth member in order to show by contrast how unseemly were such individualistic declarations as had been made in Corinth. The late Professor McGiffert also denies the existence of a fourth or Christ-party in Corinth.⁸

The identification of the party of Christ with Jewish-Christians arose early and persists. The so-called Judaizers are prominent in all the earlier studies of Paul and in many of the later ones.⁹ More recently, however, the conception of Spirit occupies a prominent place in the thinking of scholars, although, so far as I know, no scholar writing in English has defended the claim of Lütgert that the party of Christ were the Corinthian *pneumatikoi* or has taken the essentially similar position of Lietzmann and Jülicher.¹⁰ The earlier scholars antedated the whole modern research into the pagan religions contemporary with Paul. Their discussions moved in the more limited area of the Judeo-Christian circle; modern students have to penetrate realms that were unknown until comparatively recently.

On another occasion the present writer declined to add to the speculation on the existence and composition of the party of Christ,¹¹ but the problem is an intriguing one. Any problem for which such diametrically opposed solutions have been proposed fascinates students once caught in the perplexing maze of Pauline Christianity. After all Paul did mention a "party of Christ" in 1 Cor. 1:12ff. Might not a close study of

⁸ A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, Revised edition, 1917, pp. 295ff.

⁹ Robertson and Plummer, *I Corinthians*, I.C.C., 1911, p. 12. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St Paul*, 1896, p. 389. B. W. Robinson, *The Life of Paul*, 2d edition (Chicago, 1928), p. 168.

¹⁰ M. S. Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul* (New York, 1930), pp. 244, 249, 253, gives a good description of the Corinthian *pneumatikoi*, but this author is not interested in the problem of the party of Christ.

¹¹ M. E. Andrews, *The Ethical Teaching of Paul* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 41.

the Corinthian situation reveal probable reasons for Paul's failure to mention it in 3: 22 when he names the other three parties? Is the party of Christ in Corinth nothing more than a reader's gloss or a flourish of rhetoric, a literary accident or an artistic embellishment? It would be interesting indeed to be able to adduce evidence showing that the party of Christ lies on Paul's pages quite as openly as do those of Apollos and Peter which are never questioned. Certainly the possibility of such evidence should be granted.

This study proposes a fresh investigation of Paul's Corinthian correspondence, if such terminology is appropriate in the light of more than a century of Pauline study! It employs the following order which is widely accepted:¹²

- (a) 2 Cor. 6: 14-7: 1;
- (b) 1 Cor.;
- (c) 2 Cor. 10-13;
- (d) 2 Cor. 1-9 (except (a)).

It seeks an answer to the following important questions: What does Paul actually tell us of the various factions in Corinth? What is the basis of the trouble between Paul and the Corinthian Christians? What sort of people opposed Paul, insisting that they belonged "to Christ"? What, if anything, do these people have in common with Paul? What solution can be proposed that gives a consistent picture of the Corinthian situation that does not beg the question and deny the existence of the party Paul specifically mentions as one of the quarrelling groups?

We have already noted that the four parties have been reduced to two, Paul vs. Peter, in the well known position of Baur and his colleagues in Tübingen. As a matter of fact there is a general paucity of reference to any of the parties, but one would not argue from this that there were probably no parties in Corinth. 1 Corinthians 1: 12 asserts that there

¹² This does not imply that one must have a final judgment on minor details on which there is great diversity of opinion, but which do not have important bearing upon the problem in hand.

were four, 3: 22 mentions the three of human leadership, insists that all are Christ's—a patent rebuke to the persons who would arrogate to themselves the name of Christ. May this not well be an indirect reference to an existent group? In 2 Cor. 10: 7 Paul notes that his opponents claim to belong to Christ. Is there any compelling objection to the identification of those opponents of Paul as the "party of Christ"?

Paul makes three references to Apollos. He accepts his work as building upon his own (1 Cor. 3: 6), once again he mentions himself and Apollos together (1 Cor. 4: 6), and near the end of the letter he states that Apollos had declined to visit Corinth although he had urged him to do so (1 Cor. 16: 12). Only three references, and yet the question of the existence of an Apollos-group has not been denied, but rather assumed, even by those who are driven to amalgamate the parties of Paul and of Apollos. We should not expect the Apollos-party to be a lasting one. He had personal gifts that won him a following when he appeared in Corinth after Paul had left the city. No modern church member is surprised at the existence of an Apollos-group, human nature being what it is. His skill in the exposition of the Scriptures and his "good delivery," to use a modern phrase, won him a following, but by Paul's own testimony he refused to become entangled further in the sectionalism at Corinth.

Paul also has three references to Peter, 1 Cor. 1: 12, 3: 22 and 9: 5, the latter a very general reference in connection with the practice of support of apostles by the churches. Certainly this is no very extensive documentary foundation for a "party of Peter." The Corinthian letters give no evidence that Peter was ever in Corinth, but it is natural to suppose that there were those in any Christian group who accepted Peter's apostleship as being of special significance, because he had been one of Jesus' own associates. The Corinthian letters are singularly free from the controversy over the place of the Law of Moses in the lives of Christians, which controversy meets us so vividly in Galatians, and less vividly, but none the less

certainly in Romans. Regardless of the natural claim of Peter to the loyalty of such devotees of the Mosaic Law, the idea of the party of Christ as composed of Judaisers has been a popular one, based in part at least upon 2 Cor. 10: 7, 11: 4, 13, 22, 23. The picture of Paul hounded and harassed by these sticklers for the Law throughout his whole ministry to the Gentiles has shut out other equally important factors which influenced that ministry. It was the achievement of Lütgert and Ropes working independently to bring a better perspective into the whole question of the activity of the Judaisers.¹³

A careful study of the Corinthian letters reveals the fact that the whole Corinthian situation boils down to *one* group that opposed Paul longest and challenged him most decisively. When he wins his final victory it is through the disciplining by the majority of the Corinthian Christians of one recalcitrant individual (2 Cor. 2: 6ff.). Another fact, not always admitted, is that all the elements that appear in 2 Cor. 10-13 are also present in the earlier letter, although the tone of angry defense is less bitter in 1 Corinthians. Evidently Paul's instructions and authority were openly flouted and this led to the writing of these chapters. In 1 Cor. 3: 22, as previously stated, Paul asserts that all, those of Paul, Peter and Apollos, belong to Christ. In 2 Cor. 10: 7 his enemies make the same claim.

The proposed investigation of Paul occurs both in 1 Cor. and in 2 Cor. 10-13. Paul knows of the dissatisfaction with himself. He expresses his indifference to investigation by any human agency, asserts his freedom of conscience, at the same time insisting that this free conscience does not prove him innocent (1 Cor. 4: 3-4). This is a sharp thrust at the lack of

¹³ J. H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Cambridge, 1929). Cf. W. Lütgert, *Gesetz und Geist* (Gütersloh, 1919). Professor Ropes does not accept the idea of a long-continued controversy over the Law of Moses, but believes that Paul's prompt action was effective and that the Galatian episode ended the propaganda of the Judaisers. This study assumes the identification of the name *Cephas* with Peter, but this assumption has been questioned. See D. W. Riddle, *Early Christian Life*, p. 235, note 4.

innocence in his opponents who also have free consciences! The other allusion to the proposed investigation in 1 Cor. is found in 9: 3ff. where Paul goes into a lengthy argument on his *right* to support even though he had steadfastly refused such support and would continue to refuse it. In 2 Cor. 13: 1 he throws down the challenge that any charge made against him must be supported by the evidence of two or three witnesses, the trial to take place when he makes his next, and third, visit to them. In 2 Cor. 10: 8-10 we have the reasons alleged for their dissatisfaction: his too keen sense of his authority as an apostle, his insignificant appearance, and his lack of skill as a speaker. The silver-tongued Apollos clearly revealed Paul's oratorical limitations. In 2 Cor. 12: 19 he disclaims that his defense has been against them; rather it has been direct to God as a follower of Christ.

It appears that these Corinthians doubt Paul's apostleship because he waives the right to community support. In this connection we learn that the Corinthian group is supporting other apostles. In 1 Cor. 9: 12 Paul asks, "If others enjoy such rights over you, have we not still a better claim? But, you say, we have never availed ourselves of this right." Now, who are these others? Paul has just mentioned James, Peter and other apostles as receiving maintenance both for themselves and their wives—quaintly expressed in the words "lead around a [Christian] wife"—and he points out that only he and Barnabas have not given up working for their living. No one would argue that the Corinthian community was supporting apostles who had never been in it! It is evident that the term "apostle" is being used in a very broad sense. These Corinthian apostles are described in several passages in the later letter (2 Cor. 10: 12, 11: 4-6, 12-15, 20). They "approve of themselves," they "preach another Jesus than the one I preached." Paul will "cut the ground from under those who want to make out that in their boasted apostleship they work on the same terms that I do. Such men are sham apostles, dishonest workmen, masquerading as

the apostles of Christ. . . . But their doom will fit their actions." He scorns the conduct of these leaders, "For you put up with it if a man makes you his slaves, or lives on you, or takes you in, or gives you a slap in the face." These graphic details would seem to indicate veracity of reporting.

It is sometimes argued that these "apostles" are of necessity outsiders, Judaisers perhaps, because Paul uses the third person in speaking of them,¹⁴ but in an ardently defensive letter written to a community in which is a recalcitrant group, this use of the third person need not mean either Judaisers or travelling teachers, prophets or apostles such as those described in the *Didache* (xi-xiii) who imposed upon the Christian communities until rigid rules were set up for the determination of true prophets. In Paul's rhetorical outburst of 2 Cor. 11: 12ff. he mentions Hebrews, Israelites, descendants of Abraham, Christian workers, and declares himself equal to matching, even surpassing, their boasts. The passage is not directed at a particular group of Judaisers. The "anyone" of 11: 21 is Paul's way of matching himself against all comers, all potential rivals. Some one whose methods are anathema to Paul has set himself up as spiritual leader in Corinth. The whole group may be quite small, but it is arrogant. It has been a source of dissension in the community, an important factor in the situation that led to the questions concerning the social and religious life of Christians in Corinth, questions which Paul attempted to answer in 1 Corinthians.

As Paul sees his opponents it is apparent that he faced a critical situation in Corinth. Here was a group disobedient to his authority (2 Cor. 10: 6) who had set up their own leaders (2 Cor. 11: 5, 12-15), a group given to quarrels and litigation (1 Cor. 6: 1; 11: 18-20), sensual and flagrantly immoral (1 Cor. 5: 1-3; 15: 34; cf. 2 Cor. 12: 20-21), yet conscience-free (1 Cor. 4: 4), conceited, proud of their wisdom (1 Cor. 3: 18; 4: 18-20), given to boasting (2 Cor. 10: 12; 11: 21), hard to live with

¹⁴ Professor McGiffert sees Paul's enemies of 2 Cor. 10-13 as persons recently come to Corinth with no connection with the situation of the first letter. This postulates a greater lack of unity in the situation in Corinth than the facts warrant.

(1 Cor. 13: 4-6), underhanded, deceitful, tamperers with the message of Christ (2 Cor. 4: 2), sure of their *gnosis* ("knowledge" 1 Cor. 8: 1-4, 7ff.), over-confident (1 Cor. 10: 12), beyond the law and unable to sin (1 Cor. 6: 12), crassly sacramentarian (1 Cor. 10: 28-30), thoroughly ignorant of "spiritual" things, even while they valued "spiritual gifts" highly (1 Cor. 12: 3), and "utterly ignorant about God" (1 Cor. 15: 34). To Paul they are not *pneumatikoi*, but plainly *sarkikoi* and *psuchikoi*.¹⁵

Now for a glimpse of how they regarded themselves! They felt themselves under no man's authority (1 Cor. 4: 19; 11: 1), gifted with *gnosis* above their fellows (1 Cor. 3: 18; 8: 1-2, 7), capable of judging Paul (1 Cor. 4: 3-5; 9: 3; 2 Cor. 13: 1), emancipated from the fear of idols (1 Cor. 8: 4-5), with full freedom to follow their own impulses (1 Cor. 5: 1-2, 12ff.), due to their acceptance of "spirit" as a talisman (1 Cor. 10: 12, 29-30). They claimed to belong to Christ (2 Cor. 10: 7), even though the spirit had led them on occasion to curse Jesus (1 Cor. 12: 3). They felt themselves equal to Paul, their apostles were on the same basis as he (2 Cor. 11: 12-14), therefore justified in accepting community support, and distrusting him because he refused to do so (1 Cor. 9: 12). Of course they were *pneumatikoi*, fully endowed with *pneuma* and *gnosis*, and Paul's suggestion that they were not *pneumatikoi* (1 Cor. 3: 1ff.) fell on deaf ears. They gloried in ecstasy and other "gifts of the spirit."

In spite of the differences that reveal Paul and the Corinthian *pneumatikoi* as poles apart in their Christian outlook they are in fundamental agreement upon certain prime essentials of religion, as is clear from Paul's own statements. He says in 1 Cor. 6: 12ff:

¹⁵ Reitzenstein defines a *pneumatiker* as a person who has *gnosis* added to *pneuma*. He points out that both Gnosticism and the mysteries have three classes of people, thus suggesting Paul's affinity with the thought of his pagan contemporaries. Chapter XVI of Reitzenstein's *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1927), is especially valuable in this connection.

"I may do anything I please, but not everything is good for me. I may do anything I please, but I am not going to let anything master me. It is true that food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food, but God will put an end to both of them. But the body is not meant for immorality, but for the service of the Lord. . . . (Cf. 2 Cor. 12:20-21.)

Both stand firm on the ground of *Christian freedom* but draw different conclusions about its privileges and results. Other passages from Paul are equally illuminating in this connection:

"We are free to do anything, but not everything is good for us. We are free to do anything, but not everything builds up character." (1 Cor. 10:23ff.)

"But food is not going to affect our standing with God. We are none the worse if we do not eat it and none the better if we do." (1 Cor. 8: 8ff.)

"Eat anything for sale in the meat market without raising any question, as far as conscience is concerned, for the earth and everything in it belong to the Lord." (1 Cor. 10:25-26.)

Paul would protect those of sensitive conscience by refraining from eating meat offered in sacrifice; his opponents saw no necessity for troubling themselves about the scruples of the weak brother. Say grace over the meat and it will be safe to eat under any circumstances (1 Cor. 10: 29-30).

Again they are in fundamental agreement in that both sides believe in illumination direct from the Spirit. Here in the Corinthian situation we have the earliest New Testament picture of Christian Gnostics and Gnosticism. Long ago Wendland characterized Gnosticism thus: "The Gnostics are not religious philosophers; Gnosticism is not knowledge that appeals to the understanding, but a vision of God, secret wisdom which is won through personal connection with God and through revelation."¹⁶ It is no accident that the great hymn of love, so often forced out of its context and made to stand alone—as well it can—, deals with *glossolalia* (tongues), *gnosis*, inspiration. Here is the center of Paul's struggle. He would use these "gifts" for the common good (1 Cor. 12: 4ff.), the Corinthian *pneumatikoi* would use them individualistically, that is, selfishly. They both believed in the connection of "revelation" and "knowledge" (1 Cor. 14: 6; cf. 1 Cor.

¹⁶ Paul Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* (Tübingen, 1912), p. 166.

8: 1-4).¹⁷ At the end of his splendid argument on the place of "gifts" in the Christian community and their use in the Christian service, Paul says bluntly, "If anyone claims to be inspired to preach, let him understand that what I am now writing you is a command of the Lord" (1 Cor. 14: 38). Well and good, but it is necessary to bear in mind that these antinomian Christians, these *pneumatikoi* believed that they too had direct revelation from the Lord!

Paul's clinching argument is his boast of visions and revelations in 2 Cor. 12: 1-6. He must meet them on their own ground, although he states that he would prefer that they be influenced by his words and conduct rather than by wonderful visions and revelations. He was meeting them on their own ground too when he thanked God that he spoke in ecstasy more than any of them (1 Cor. 14: 18), nor did he desire to stamp out ecstatic speaking, but he would regulate it and bring it within the bounds of orderly procedure (1 Cor. 14: 39-40). Just as he was able to point to more striking deeds, greater sufferings, so was he able to point to greater evidences of the Spirit in him (2 Cor. 11: 22-12: 6). He considered spiritistic phenomena—signs, wonders, marvels—as belonging to the apostleship, a guarantee that the Spirit worked in him (2 Cor. 12: 12; cf. 1 Cor. 2: 5).

Paul preached in Corinth for a year and a half (Acts 18: 11) and if we base our conception of that preaching on 1 Cor. 2 where he describes it most fully we have the key to his struggle with the *pneumatikoi*. Paul determined to forget everything but Christ crucified, his preaching was attended by "convincing spiritual power" although not phrased in fine language. This line of approach has clear affinities with mystery cult thinking and practice; he alludes to an esoteric teaching designed for people who are capable of receiving it, the *teleioi*, a term applied to those who have completed initiation. This

¹⁷ Mary Redington Ely, *Knowledge of God in Johannine Thought* (New York, 1925); pp. 114-130 contain a good discussion of the *gnosis*-concept in Pauline Christianity.

message of Christ crucified, this mysterious divine wisdom is direct from God, mediated through the Spirit in words disclosed by the Spirit. In this connection 1 Cor. 2: 15 is significant: "But the spiritual man examines all things, but is examined by no one." His opponents also believed themselves to be men of this caliber, possessed, even as Paul claimed to be, of the "mind of Christ" (1 Cor. 2: 16).

Paul is not consistent in Chapters 1 and 3 of 1 Corinthians. In his greeting he admits the Christians in Corinth "rich through union with Christ, in utterance and knowledge" (i.e., *glossolalia* and *gnosis*) and states "there is no gift that you lack" (1 Cor. 1: 5, 7). This is exactly what his opponents felt so confidently about themselves! Then in 3: 1 he insists that he had not been able to treat them as *pneumatikoi*, but as *sarkikoi* and *psuchikoi*. Their factionalism proves that they are not yet *pneumatikoi*. It seems to the writer that the issue is clear. Paul's opponents took one phase of his message at its face value, but neglected the ethical results that Paul always insisted followed naturally upon possession of the Spirit. This ethical unworthiness would place these Corinthian Christians on the level of flesh, not of Spirit, since the latter, in Paul's opinion, was the prime condition of ethical achievement. It is well recognized that the Hellenistic dualism which sharply differentiated spirit and flesh led at times to opposite extremes of asceticism and libertinism. That problem is exemplified in 1 Cor. 5: 1-6 in the case of the man who was living with his stepmother in the midst of social approval of the act that flouted both Jewish and Roman law. Is it likely that Paul would mention with any satisfaction the title of the group whose actions and attitudes so outrage him while they were arrogating to themselves the name of Christ? To do so would be travesty on that name which to him was above all others.

The writer believes that the evidence of Paul's Corinthian correspondence points to the identification of the "party of Christ" with the Corinthian *pneumatikoi*. This position

avoids the question-begging solution of denial of the existence of such a party in the face of Paul's three-fold mention of it; it orients Paul into the religious situation of the Graeco-Roman world as a whole better than the earlier solution which identified the "party of Christ" with the Judaisers who do not fit into the Corinthian situation; and finally, it shows clearly the basis of the struggle which ended in victory for Paul, namely, the fundamental agreement of the adversaries on two major issues in religion: Christian freedom and spiritistic phenomena, with the accompanying fundamental disagreement on the necessity of joining religion and ethics in Corinth.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary

Isbon Thaddeus Beckwith (September 9th) was born as long ago as 1843, and for the last few years had lived a very retired life as an invalid. A graduate of Yale in 1868, he pursued postgraduate study in the classics at Göttingen and Leipsic. He entered the Episcopal ministry in 1876 and was appointed Professor of Greek at Trinity College. In 1898 he went to the General Theological Seminary as Professor of New Testament but in 1906 returned to Trinity where he remained until his retirement. In 1919 he published his able *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Apocalypse*; his sole theological work.

Samuel Parkes Cadman (July 15th) was born in England in 1864. A Congregational clergyman, he came to New York in 1895 as pastor of the Metropolitan Temple; six years later he was called to the Central Congregational Church of Brooklyn, which remained his "title" until his death. Here he found time for endless lecturing, writing and (later) radio speaking that made him the best known clergyman in America and probably in the English speaking world; he was actively interested in every important movement, from the Federal Council of Churches down to local projects for civic betterment. While none of his works has permanent significance for theological science, as a popularizer he was unsurpassed.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (June 14th) was born in 1874. His reputation belongs rather to the literary than the theological field, but he wrote copiously on religion, at first from the Anglican and later (under the influence of Mr. Belloc) from the Roman Catholic standpoint. His first book on religious topics—*Heretics*, written in 1905—was also his best.

Percy Dearmer (May 29th) was born in 1867. Educated at Oxford, he was ordained in 1891 and held a variety of cures,

ending with a canonry at Westminster Abbey, while in 1919 he was made Professor of Ecclesiastical Art at King's College, London. His fields were church art and liturgics, in both of which he strove valiantly for sanity. In the latter field—combined in fact with the former—he wrote in 1899 *The Parson's Handbook*, which passed through endless editions; in essence it was a plea for the older English tradition as against rococo embellishments. Many, many other small volumes, some of them only tracts, pleaded the same case which lay at his heart throughout his life. His most popular works, however, were his *Everyman's History of the English Church* (1909 and later) and *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* (1912 and later); neither of course has scientific importance but both are masterpieces of popularization. In the field of church music he edited *The English Hymnal* in 1906, *Songs of Praise* in 1925, and *The Oxford Book of Carols* in 1928. In his latest years his attention began to turn toward more fundamental problems, and his first pamphlet on historical apologetics showed that he had familiarized himself with unexpected thoroughness with a subject he had never treated before.

Alfred Shenington Geden was born in 1857. Educated at Oxford, he entered the Wesleyan ministry in 1881, taught in a mission college in India for some years and then was made Professor of Old Testament at the Richmond Wesleyan Theological College; he held this post until his retirement. Dr. Geden's writings were chiefly limited to a rather specialized field, but he became widely known through his editorship (with Dr. W. F. Moulton) of *A Concordance to the Greek New Testament*; the standard work of its kind in English.

Hermann Guthe was born in 1849. His entire academic career was spent at Leipsic, beginning in 1881, in the Old Testament department. He wrote especially on Palestine but his most most serious work was his *Geschichte des Volkes Israels* (1899; third edition in 1914). He did Ezra and Nehemia in the Polychrome Bible (1901) and jointly with

Eduard Sievers edited a metrical text of Amos in 1907. Of less consequence was his editorship of the *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* (1902).

Fritz Hommel was born in 1854. His teaching career was spent at the University of Munich, beginning in 1877, in the department of Semitic Languages, and he ranked very high as an Assyriologist. Unfortunately an over-confidence in Assyriology as the key to all Semitic cultures led him to exaggerate its importance as a help to understanding Israel; his Old Testament works have consequently not the significance that his learning should have given them.

Montague Rhodes James was born in 1862. Educated in Eton and Cambridge, he directed the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1894-1908, was Provost of King's College 1905-1918, and in 1918 was made Provost of Eton, where he remained until his death. A bibliography of Dr. James' works is almost appalling in its magnitude; his interest in "quaint and curious lore" led him into all sorts of out of the way fields, about which he always had fascinating stories to tell. He was particularly attracted by the Biblical apocrypha; in fact he began his literary career with an edition of the Psalms of Solomon in 1891 and did not rest satisfied until he had published in 1924 a collected edition of the New Testament apocrypha that will remain standard for a long time to come. This same interest led him into the New Testament itself with his little commentary on Jude and II Peter (1912) but never into the main stream of Biblical thought. But his particular passion was for manuscripts, which he loved to catalog and describe, and he published over a score of lists of the holdings of special libraries, besides countless descriptions of single manuscripts. Among the medieval writers Walter Map was his especial favorite, while his great recreation was in collecting and publishing ghost stories.

Peter Jensen (August 13th) was born in 1861. Like Hommel he entered the field of Assyriology; his academic work was carried on first at Strassburg and after 1895 at Marburg.

And like Hommel Assyriology took on an overweening importance in his mind until—unlike Hommel—he pushed its significance to a degree utterly preposterous; he came to contend that practically all “mythical” conceptions that appear in the world are derived from the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic.

Henry Falconer Barclay Mackay (April 20th) was educated at Oxford and held the important Librarianship of Pusey House from 1895–1908, when he went to London as Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street. He held a high reputation as a preacher and devotional writer but his occasional excursions into historical writing were unfortunate.

Hugh Ross Mackintosh was born in 1870. Educated at Edinburgh and in Germany, he was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry (Free Church of Scotland) in 1891. Appointed Professor of Systematic Theology in Edinburgh in 1904, the union movements in Scotland brought him finally into the chair of Systematic Theology at the University of Edinburgh, when the former United Free Church College was incorporated into the University as New College. His first publications were translations from the German, but in 1912 he contributed the familiar *Doctrine of the Person of Christ* to the *International Theological Library*. Other of his better known books are *Immortality and the Future* (1915), *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (1927) and *The Christian Apprehension of God* (1929), all of which passed into later editions.

Elmer Truesdell Merrill was born in 1860. Educated at Yale and in Germany, he was ordained to the Episcopal ministry in 1894. He took up the professional teaching of Latin, first at Wesleyan, then at the University of Southern California, then at Trinity and finally (1908) at the University of Chicago, where he remained until his retirement in 1925. His interests in theology, however, were not forgotten and in 1924 he published a volume of *Essays in Early Christian*

History, unconventional in certain regards but of interest because of Dr. Merrill's authority in the classical field.

Arthur Titius (September 10th?) was born in 1864. He began his teaching at Berlin in 1891, went from there to Kiel and then to Göttingen, returning to Berlin in 1921 as full professor. A man of enormous learning, he was equally at home in the New Testament, in systematic theology and in philosophy. His first published work was the elaborate *Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit* (1895-1900), followed by a series of highly technical books on philosophical and ethical themes, but his *Natur und Gott* (1925) had a more general character.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Exploration of the Inner World. By Anton T. Boisen. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1936, pp. xi + 322. \$3.50.

This is a very interesting book based upon the author's own personal experiences and observation. It advances the thesis that

"there is an important relation between acute mental illness of the functional type and those transformations of character so prominent in the history of the Christian Church since the days of Saul of Tarsus. It undertakes to show that both may arise out of a common situation—that of inner conflict and disharmony, accompanied by a keen awareness of ultimate loyalties and unattained possibilities. Religious experience as well as mental disorder may involve severe emotional upheaval, and mental disorder as well as religious experience may represent the operation of the healing forces of nature. The conclusion follows that certain types of mental disorder and certain types of religious experience are alike attempts at reorganization. The difference lies in the outcome" (p. ix).

It is extraordinary how many cases of religious delusion approximate the consciousness and outlook of some of the world's religious geniuses. The sense of impending cosmic disaster may be studied historically in the prophets of Israel or in the wards of the mental hospital. The sense of high vocation to some sacrificial or creative task in view of this impending disaster also finds its parallels. Obviously, one cannot class the world's religious geniuses off-hand with the mentally unbalanced: there must be some deeper explanation, and it is this which Mr Boisen undertakes to find. He finds parallels in the lives of such men as George Fox, Emmanuel Swedenborg, and St Paul, and he even studies the Messianic consciousness of Jesus in the light of these findings. His researches appear to indicate that the eschatologists are right in the main in their interpretation of our Lord's outlook and purposes. As set forth in this chapter (iv) and elsewhere (I quote from personal correspondence with the author):

"1. Ideas of world catastrophe and of cosmic identification tend to occur together in certain types of experience. They form part of a constellation of ideas

which are characteristic of certain types of hospital patients and of certain men who are recognized as religious geniuses. This constellation includes also ideas of death, of rebirth, of previous incarnation and of mission. All of these are to be found in the gospel accounts of Jesus.

2. These ideas arise spontaneously. They do not need to be explained in terms of the stream of tradition. They are found in those who pass through experiences of a certain type regardless of race and regardless of time. They seem to be rooted in certain constants of human nature and to be independent of the particular culture patterns. Instead of explaining such ideas in terms of the stream of tradition alone we might equally well explain certain features in the stream of tradition in terms of the spontaneous recurrence of such ideas.

3. A true understanding of the meaning of such experiences and of the ideas which characterize them permits us to believe that Jesus may have thought of himself as the Messiah of the Jews and yet be entitled to the highest rank among men of religious genius."

Now of course Jesus' language "originated in a social atmosphere saturated with eschatology." Mr. Boisen takes a much more critical and accurate view of the sources than Albert Schweitzer could take, now nearly forty years ago, and admits that "many of the sayings and stories were warped and colored by the views of early Christians." Nevertheless he insists that the cumulative effect of the evidence in the Gospels is convincing, and he holds that neither Schweitzer's doctoral dissertation (*Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu*, which undertook to show that Jesus' messianic consciousness was due to his literal acceptance of the messianic dogmas of his time—so that his own inner sanity remained undisturbed, despite this strong influence from without) nor Walter Bundy's book, *The Psychic Health of Jesus*, has succeeded in answering the charge of abnormality.

"The significance of Jesus" lies "precisely in the fact that with a true sense of the social responsibility which rested upon him he achieved also the highest degree of harmony, not only inwardly but in his social perspective. . . . Instead therefore of trying to rid the picture of Jesus of all that is unusual and to make him over after the image of the modern normal or average man, we may hold with Schweitzer that the key to any true understanding of him is to be found in the view that he did think of himself as the Messiah. . . . We may affirm furthermore that the heart of his message is ever to be found in his doctrine of the cross. Through him there comes to us the imperious summons to assume the same responsibility which he assumed and to give ourselves completely to the sacrificial task of bringing in the new world that ought to be" (pp. 139f.).

Thus the author interprets Messiahship in a somewhat different way from that propounded by the 'thorough-going' eschatologists: and undoubtedly he is right on this point. He says the best clue to the understanding of Jesus' Messianic consciousness is not in the writings of the apocalyptists but among the prophets.

"In these prophets we may see men who were good enough and fine enough to identify themselves with their people and go down with them into the valley of the shadow, men in whom was focused the Divine Spirit of the race and through whom that race achieved a self-consciousness which, widely scattered though the Jews have been, has kept them together throughout the centuries. In Jesus the spirit of the Hebrew prophet spoke once again, and therein lies the significance of his messianic consciousness. His beloved people were in danger. They were in the hands of the oppressor. He sought a way out and he found that way in the giving up of the hope of earthly dominion for the sake of a spiritual dominion. Face to face with the impending destruction of the national life and of the national hope, the divine spirit of the race which was focused in him gave up its life and became thereby the Divine Spirit of the world" (p. 138).

Whatever our final judgment upon the evidence for the alleged messianic consciousness of our Lord—i.e. in the apocalyptic eschatological sense—there is no doubt that Mr Boisen's view is more likely the correct one than that of much of the idealization of the past, whether liberal or orthodox. His own '*psychiatrische Beurteilung*' is, we think, faced in the right direction. The mentality of Jesus, if we are to understand it at all, was that of a Semitic religious leader, not that of an ancient Greek or of a modern European or American.

Unlike Schweitzer, Mr Boisen does not assume the accuracy of the Matthean representation of the life of Jesus, or its chronology, nor accept unquestioningly the 'high' apocalyptic outlook or the Messianic Christology of Matthew's sources. Instead, he carefully sifts the evidence of Mark and Q—though the material listed on p. 135 (including the Confession of Peter, the Institution of the Lord's Supper, the Trial Acknowledgement, the Discourses concerning the Judgment Day, the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen) requires revision and reduction, on the basis of both Source and Form

Criticism. And it is extremely doubtful if the Temptation Narrative (p. 141) is autobiographical—it reads too much like a dramatization of apocalyptic—any more than Romans 7 (p. 60 etc) is a chapter in the autobiography of Paul. However, most present-day students of the New Testament would be inclined to accept at least the first two of the 'propositions' which he deduces from the Gospel tradition:

"1. That the Kingdom of God which constituted the central theme in his teaching was something in the nature of a new world order consequent upon an imminent world catastrophe.

"2. That he was sent to proclaim the coming of this Kingdom and had in it a rôle of peculiar authority and power.

"3. That he anticipated his own death as a condition of the attainment of his objective in life" (p. 132).

Other interesting features in the book are the attempts at an empirical approach to the theological problems of sin and salvation, of the idea of God, and of the nature and function of religion. The author's practical outlook—he is Chaplain of Elgin State Hospital in Illinois, and director of the work of students under the Council for the Clinical Training of Theological Students, as well as Professor at the Chicago Theological Seminary—comes out in his final chapters which deal with the Church in action, the foundations of spiritual healing, and the task of the ministry. Incidentally, one wishes that those who are interested in the Oxford Groups would read and take to heart Chapter Two. 'Guidance' is not *necessarily* pathological; but it is nevertheless a dangerous thing "to accept implicitly the promptings which come into [one's] mind as of supernatural origin and divine authority" (p. 74).

The book is one of the most readable that we have come across, upon this subject, and has a fresh point of view in closest touch with actual experience.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow. By Lee J. Levinger. Macmillan, 1936, pp. xvi + 334. \$2.50.

Rabbi Levinger has written a book which combines a history of anti-Semitism, from the earliest examples of it in

the Biblical period, down to the persecution under the Nazis, together with an analysis of anti-Semitism and a sociological treatment of the problem. Under Part Two, the analysis, the religious causes are recognized to be only a partial explanation; the economic aspects are equally real and important, while the myth of world conspiracy is only a rationalization of the hatred and suspicion of those who have spread it. So, likewise, is the Race Theory which would exclude the Jews from a share in the civilization of the Nordic peoples. The author has no particular difficulty in proving that there is no Aryan race; that no pure Nordic race exists today or ever has existed; and even that the Germans are neither a pure race nor a prevailingly Nordic one.

As for a remedy, "if anti-Semitism rested on an inborn race-antipathy, the situation would be hopeless. We should simply have to resolve that tragedy is the lot of the Jew and in some degree of every minority. But there have been times and places where it was practically, if not altogether, absent. . . . The causes of anti-Semitism, and of all race hatred, lie in environment rather than in heredity." For this reason there is a hope that they can be cured.

"The remedy is not a ready or a quick one. It involves vast changes of opinion in many millions of people. It involves also changes in the economic and international situations which bring the climaxes of hatred and persecution. It must be a long-term program, for only that can ever touch the causes, can ever change the thinking of mobs, parties or nations, or can ever turn their members from mass thinking to individual thinking" (pp. 299-300).

The Jews cannot solve anti-Semitism because they cannot reach its causes, though at the same time counter-propaganda is a necessary part of any Jewish program of self-defense. But this is not enough; the problem in various professions must be recognized and adjustments made. "If there are too many Jewish lawyers and physicians for their own good, or too few Jews in the basic industries and farming, then adjustments are desirable" (p. 306).

Zionism is considered as a solution, but of course this cannot possibly solve the whole problem—Palestine is too small a

country. "It is manifestly impossible to isolate a scattered people like the Jews from contact with other nations, or even from living among other peoples. The Jew cannot be saved from the world; he must be saved with the world" (p. 314).

Something more is needed than the elimination of propagandist organizations and out-breaks and the removal of secondary causes of anti-Semitism. "The final program is nothing less than a reëducation of the human race, to train men and women for living together in amity and understanding rather than in oppression and resentment. Such a program alone will ever remove the fundamental cause of group hatred and prejudices from the world. It is, on the face of it, not a Jewish program, but a national and international project, in which the Jew is simply one of the many people to be taught, and one of the groups which are the topic of study" (p. 317).

The two final paragraphs in this book are certainly worth quoting, for they set forth the basic convictions of an author who has grappled with the problem in all its gravest magnitude:

"The ultimate dream of the present author is that of the prophets of Israel, a world united in justice and in peace. This implies a vast integration of groups and sub-groups, from the city, the church, the factory, the social set of friends, up to the nation, and then of the nations themselves, with their crisscrossing interests and universalizing trends, to an organization or at least a sentiment of sympathy which includes the entire human race. In such a picture the Jew would have his place, as would every other group, majority or minority, as one of the natural and traditional bodies into which people have been born, or in which they have grouped together. A language group is decided by birth, a scientific or artistic school by personal choice; yet both are parts of the groupings and regroupings which constitute our common humanity.

"Every group has its quota to contribute to the life of the world, whether in thought or in expression, in labor or merely in its distinctive mode of life. The ultimate world organization will be one in which, not merely anti-Semitism and every type of group prejudice will be impossible, but the interest in the many types of people in the world will be directed toward their contributions to the common welfare. The external foe which may then unite them will be none other than the conquest of the forces of nature; the inner unity will be a vast ethical and religious agreement that all men are in a literal sense brothers."

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Theologie des Alten Testaments. By Ludwig Köhler. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1936, pp. xi + 252. M. 10.20.

This is a volume in the *Neue Theologische Grundrisse* series edited by Professor Bultmann. Van der Leeuw's *Phenomenology of Religion*, and Eissfeldt's *Introduction to the Old Testament* have already been reviewed in these pages. Dr Köhler's work on the theology of the Old Testament is the third volume in the new series.

Old Testament theology is not quite the same thing as Religion of the Old Testament; it deals with the *ideas* presupposed by and underlying the religion. The old-fashioned kind of Biblical theology, of course, undertook to systematize the Bible as a whole and no account was taken—or very little—of the varieties of outlook which it contains and which can sometimes be discovered even within one and the same book. Great store was laid by the Messianic prophecies, for example; and much attention was given to the 'typology of Scripture.' On the other hand, there are those at the present day who feel that in view of the history of Biblical literature there is no hope of getting anywhere in that discipline. What we need instead is studies in the field of history of religions and the historical-literary exegesis of Biblical books. But Dr Köhler's work is a clear demonstration of the continuing propriety of Biblical theology. It undertakes to show the unity within variety of the religious ideas of the Old Testament and to escape the inevitable danger, which would be encountered otherwise, of viewing the Old Testament simply in fragmentary bits (p. 42). There really is a world of ideas underlying the Old Testament as a whole; in some respects the Old Testament has more unity theologically than has the New, with its several divergent 'theologies'—a fact which need not surprise us in view of the contrast between the thousand-year development of the Old Testament literature and the hundred-year process, wrought out amid extremely diverse conditions, of the New.

The basic idea of Old Testament theology is of course the

idea of God, and to this Köhler devotes the first half of his book. He begins by discussing the nature of God in general as conceived in the Old Testament and as reflected in the divine names. It is not possible, he holds, to discern any grouping of divine types. In other words, the God of the Old Testament is not a composite produced by superimposing a group of deities one upon another. Monotheism did not result as a merging of the gods of polytheism. In Israel, from the very beginning, Yahweh was the one God of Israel; and when his people entered Canaan and settled there and Yahweh came into conflict with the Baalim and fought them to a finish, he already possessed the character which was his down to the latest period of Old Testament religion—and may even be seen surviving in the Jewish conception of God at a much later date. The great basic idea of God is that of the 'Lord', understood not in the sense of owner, but of ruler. Yahweh is a divine mandatory will, obedience to which means the welfare and salvation of his people, disobedience, their ruin. Although Köhler does not overstress the irrational and demonic elements in Yahweh (his concern is always with the *theology*, not with the primitive origins or with the psychological concomitants of the idea) he nevertheless realizes clearly the importance of these traits for an understanding of the attitude of the Old Testament prophets and other writers to the national god.

This god, the God of Israel, the strong-willed god, whose mandates are to be obeyed whether understood or not, just because they are his, who loves his people with an intense, jealous, Semitic kind of affection, who can brook no rival, and yet who, whatever the feelings of his people, is ever ready to forgive and restore after punishment—this god became, after the invasion and the taking-over of the land of Canaan, the god of a settled cult. The account of the origin of this cult (i.e. the adoption of Canaanitish ideas by the Israelites) and of the effects upon men's ideas of God, is sketched in one of the most brilliant chapters of the book before us (pp. 54-58). Yahweh

had all along been a protector of his people, but protection took place only when needed. He was at hand and could be called to their defense; but when not needed, he lived his own life, so to speak. He was a volatile, swift-moving deity—here today and gone tomorrow, like the Bedawi—or like his own native Kenites, skittish, fleeting, and ever on the move; and, for that very reason, ever within call, and prompt to answer his people's cry of distress. But in a settled, agricultural community, not protection but blessing was the great desideratum: the regular provision of sustenance, the fertility of the soil and the increase of herds, upon which the life of men now depended; and the simplest answer to this requirement was the adoption of the Canaanite cults under some considerable modification and their adaptation to the worship of Yahweh. In spite, however, of the settlement in Palestine and even of the building of the Solomonic temple, Yahweh was never completely acclimatized or domesticated. His old desert traits survived, and his prophets arose to denounce in the fiercest terms the 'corruptions' of the Canaanite cults and all the official priestly religion under the Kingdom. In doing this, the prophets were harking back to the older Mosaism. At the same time the conception of God continued to grow, and by the time of the Exile it was impossible to conceive of God as anything less than the God of the whole earth, who reveals his will in manifold ways and who must be thought of as the one who created the world and who dominates all history. But his closeness to men, his readiness to hear their cry, has never been left out of the picture, either in Judaism or in Christianity.

Part II of the work deals with men, and Part III with Judgment and Salvation.

Some writers will no doubt be disappointed not to find anything on the Messianic hope—short of a reference or two at the very end of the book. Of course, the Old Testament is conceived in its strictly canonical form, excluding the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha; and in the canonical Old

Testament the Messianic idea pivots wholly about a future earthly king, who is quite variously conceived. Strangely, however, Köhler sees the clearest Messianic prophecy in the 53d Chapter of Isaiah; and that, nothing short of a suffering and dying Messiah. But the conception of 'the Servant' is so variously conceived in II Isaiah, and there is so much evidence for textural tampering (esp. in the Cyrus passages) and for editing, and for the use by the poet of more than one meaning for his great word (a similar mental process lay behind certain parts of the Fourth Gospel), that most readers will no doubt think that this interpretation at least needs further consideration. It is almost the only passage in the book with which this reviewer disagrees.

Brief as it is, the book is much more than a brilliant sketch. It is more likewise than a summary of present-day investigation, such as one really expects in a good text book. There are fresh approaches to many problems; and the book not only repeatedly implies a very thorough use of grammar, lexicon, and concordance on the part of its author (in addition to the whole field of modern literature about the Bible) but it provides real stimulus to the reader to go and do likewise. There is still 'fresh light to break forth from God's Word' even in these late and very scientific days; and it is to be hoped that the growing sympathetic understanding of the religious outlook and 'psychology' of the Biblical writers will not be taken as a dispensation of the student from the careful and painstaking study of the text itself. Such a book as Professor Köhler's will be an encouragement to German students to begin or to continue such studies; let us hope that the same stimulus may somehow be conveyed to American students!

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Old Testament Religion in the Light of its Canaanite Background. By Elmer A. Leslie. Abingdon, 1936, pp. 289. \$2.00.

As the title indicates Professor Leslie treats the religion of Israel from the earliest times to the Babylonian Exile. After

that episode, the religion became Judaism. The story is told simply and interestingly. The development is traced during the historic period in close conformity with the Biblical narratives, so that one familiar with the Old Testament may easily follow it. Especial care is given to the light which archæological research sheds on the theme. The author's reading has been wide and his utilization of the materials effective. His critical positions are in general those approved by the consensus of scholars. He does not appear to have been led away by Welch's criticism of Deuteronomy, or by the attacks of Hölscher and others on the Book of Ezekiel. As to the problems connected with the patriarchal period and the Exodus, all scholars grope in the dark and there is room here for differences of opinion. Leslie's reconstructions here will not command universal assent, but that is not to his discredit.

The point at which the reviewer dissents most positively from our author's views is that where he adopts Alt's argument for the personal character of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (pp. 67ff.). Leslie not only adopts it, but assumes, on its basis, that the experiences recorded were personal experiences. If the argument were sound, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Dan. 3) would be real historical characters, for Nebuchadnezzar spoke of "the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego." If fiction is to possess verisimilitude, it must employ the phrases of real life; the inclusion of the phrases does not constitute it history. Alt's argument is thus fallacious. Of course the Biblical stories *may* embody actual experiences of real men, but Alt's line of reasoning does not prove it.

Professor Leslie's volume is, however, to be heartily commended. It is a fresh and up-to-date discussion of an ever-living theme. It is supplied with copious indices and an extensive bibliography, and is an excellent text-book for the period which it covers.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

Geschichte der Alten Kirche. By Hans Lietzmann. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co. Vol. I, *Die Anfänge*. 1932, pp. viii + 323. RM. 7. Vol. II, *Ecclesia Catholica*. 1936, pp. viii + 339. RM. 4.80.

One would be hard put to it to find a scholar better qualified than Lietzmann of Berlin to undertake a large-scale history of the Ancient Church. He served an exacting apprenticeship under great masters of the last generation. In his *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* and in his *Messe und Herrenmahl* he broke fresh ground and put all Christian scholarship under lasting obligation. The latter work, particularly, exhibits the sort of historical insight that grasps the uncommon significance of the commonplace, so that all subsequent writers on the Eucharist will have to take account of, if they do not adopt (as many have), Lietzmann's theory.

The same brilliance, the same gift of luminous exposition which he displayed in these and other technical monographs appear again in the volumes before us, written less for scholars than for the general reader. Scholars will find, indeed, much that is fresh and original, at least in presentation, while the reader approaching the volumes with no previous knowledge of early Christian history will gain, provided he can negotiate a stylistically superior but not particularly difficult German, a clear and circumstantial understanding of the genesis of our religion. Not since Duchesne—a quarter-century and more ago—has anything so comprehensive or important been undertaken in this field. It is devoutly to be hoped that the rumor is true that somebody is planning to make Lietzmann's *Alte Kirche* available to English readers.

The work interprets early Christianity in terms of its own unfolding life, with all its richness and variety, against the background of the ancient world. The monuments of Christian literature are treated as expressions and illustrations of that expanding life; the great figures of Church history are presented in close relationship to their own time and place, each with specific spiritual quests and practical problems. Here is no skimming the surface of mere factual narrative; but depth without obscurity, a skilled grappling with the

forms and conditions, the products and by-products, of the Church's growth in the light of Christianity's religious ethos and total environment. In short, Lietzmann comes nearer to the new conception of 'social history' than almost anyone who has hitherto written on the early Church.

The first volume opens with chapters on Palestine under Roman rule and on Palestinian Judaism. The next three chapters deal with John the Baptist, Jesus, and the *Urgemeinde*. A study of *diaspora* Judaism opens the way for chapters on Paul, the gentile mission churches, and the religious life of the Empire. Then follow chapters on the post-apostolic age, John, and Ignatius. The concluding sections deal with Marcion and the Gnostic schools. We note, among other points worthy of comment did space permit, that Lietzmann stands by the thesis he developed in his earlier book mentioned above: that Peter preceded Paul in Rome, and that Paul deliberately chose a policy of silence with regard to Peter's Roman activity because of the fundamental differences between the two in the matter of the Law and gentile obligations thereto.

Vol. II. Upon a survey of the Empire in the second and third centuries follow four closely related chapters devoted to Church organization, the N.T. canon, the rule of faith and theology, the cultus. The next two sections deal with the relations between Church and Empire and the work of the Apologists. The last six chapters are geographically centered, to exhibit the divergent expressions and exponents of Christianity in Asia Minor, Gaul, Africa, Rome, Syria (with much material not widely known) and Egypt. This second volume carries the history down to the time of the persecutions under Decius and Valerian.

The work, representing both historical art and historical science of a very high order, is to be continued through three more volumes to the period of Gregory the Great. Each part may be purchased separately.

P. V. NORWOOD.

The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy. By Etienne Gilson. Scribners, 1936, ix + 490. \$3.50.

Professor Gilson's Gifford Lectures, delivered at Aberdeen in 1931-32, undertake to define the spirit of mediæval philosophy—somewhat as Josiah Royce set forth the spirit of modern. As in his other works (e.g. *The Philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas*, 1924), Professor Gilson identifies the philosophy of the Schoolmen with 'the Christian philosophy *par excellence*.' Not that all mediæval philosophy was Christian; nor that 'Christian Philosophy' was universally recognized as the necessary intellectual formulation of the Church's attitudes and beliefs. But in the long perspective of the centuries that have followed, it may clearly be seen how naturally and appropriately the Christian outlook was expressed in this philosophy, and how completely the Hebraic element in the Christian tradition triumphed over and dominated the Hellenic. Dean Inge and others have insisted that Catholicism represents a fusion of the Hellenic and the Hebraic traditions; Paul Elmer More holds that patristic theology down to and including the decrees and creed of Chalcedon are a projection of that straight line of development which runs from Socrates through Plato, the Hellenistic philosophies, the Apologists and Christian Platonists, to the final goal, viz. the theology of the Greek Fathers; and since this Greek Theology, even including St John Damascene, who rounded out the development in the East, was accepted as normative for orthodoxy in the West, it may be thought that the debt of the mediævalists to earlier Hellenic philosophy was a very real one—even before the great rediscovery of Aristotelianism early in the 13th century. The truth seems to be that there was a Hellenic *Grundlage*; but it was by no means this stratum upon which the foundations of Christian philosophy rested. Its footings went down to a deeper and indeed a firmer level of tradition, deposited by a larger religious experience and one with far wider social implications, viz. the Mosaic-Prophetic tradition embedded in Judaism. As Professor Gilson expresses it, "the spirit of

mediaeval philosophy is the spirit of Christianity penetrating the Greek tradition, working within it, drawing out of it a certain view of the world, a *Weltanschauung*, specifically Christian. There had to be Greek temples and Roman basilicas before there could be cathedrals; but no matter how much the mediaeval architects owed to their predecessors, their work is nevertheless distinctive, and the new spirit that was creative in them was doubtless the same spirit that inspired the philosophers of the time."

It is this labor of the Christian spirit with the concepts derived from Greek philosophy—rather than, in Harnack's famous formula, the Greek spirit laboring with the data of the Christian tradition—that produced the theology of the Church, and eventually the philosophy of the Middle Ages. The imagination of the classical metaphysicians was absolutely possessed by the idea of the Biblical Creator-God, a very different concept from that of the Platonic Idea of the Good or the Aristotelian Thinker, or even the modern Divine Mathematician. A scholastic metaphysician undertook to expound the idea of the Creator-God as

"a being whose intrinsic necessity is such as to be reflected in the very idea we form of Him. God exists so necessarily in Himself that even in our thought He cannot not exist: *quod qui bene intelligit, utique intelligit idipsum sic esse, ut nec cogitatione queat non esse*. Where St Anselm went wrong, as his successors very well saw, was in failing to notice that the necessity of affirming God, instead of constituting in itself a deductive proof of His existence, is really no more than the basis for an induction. In other words, the analytical process, by which from the idea of God is drawn the necessity of His existence, is not in fact the proof that God exists, but might very well become the initial datum of this proof, for we might try to show that the very necessity of affirming God postulates God's existence as its sole sufficient reason. What St Anselm only half divined was left for others to put in a clear light. St Bonaventure, for example, very well saw that the necessity of God's being *quoad se* is the sole conceivable sufficient reason of the necessity of His existence *quoad nos*. Let him who would contemplate the unity of the Divine Essence, he says, first fix his eyes on being itself: *in ipsum esse*, and there he will see that being itself is in itself so absolutely self-evident that it cannot be thought of as not being: *et videat ipsum esse adeo in se certissimum, quod non potest cogitari non esse*. The whole Bonaventurian metaphysic of illumination lies behind this text, in readiness to explain our certitude of His existence by an irradiation of the divine being on our thought" (p. 60).

A passage like this sets forth clearly not simply the method of the scholastic metaphysicians—which led to what we call ‘the ontological argument’; but it also makes clear the background of religious experience, of mystical apprehension and illumination, which is quite as fully presupposed as is the strict process of rational logic. It is absurd, and wholly groundless, to charge mediæval philosophers with being mystics first and rationalists last; if anything they were rationalists before they were mystics; and they never retreat into mysticism in order to piece out the gaps in their logical constructions. The criticism levelled against them by the mystic was often that they were too logical, i.e. too rationalistic; that they undertook to prove God upon purely rational grounds without requiring any knowledge of God based upon experience, on the part of those whom they sought to convince. No, the fault of mediæval philosophy was not its lack of logic. If anything it was its over-confidence in logic, its constant endeavour to get every idea properly labelled and pigeon-holed. There was a shining clarity about all its processes of thought, a razor-like keenness to all its logic. The tools it handled were dangerous in the hand of any but the most competent—as became clear in the days of Ockham and the repudiation of the universality of truth.

This final outcome of mediæval philosophy and the sterility of some of its concepts should not blind us either to its historical importance—as Gilson points out, it is the antecedent presupposition of the philosophies of Descartes, Malebranche, Leibniz, Kant, and of almost the whole development of modern philosophy; nor should we close our eyes to the magnificence of its accomplishment in its best period. There was the same spirit in the work of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas as there was in the erection of Chartres or Winchester Cathedral. There was the same reliance upon mathematical accuracy and form—so that, e.g., a relatively small number of stones properly placed would support a soaring arch quite as easily as would a massive

Norman wall. Indeed Professor Gilson points out more than once the comparisons that may be drawn between mediæval philosophy and mediæval art. Perhaps there is one more note that ought to be added, viz. the *novelty* of it. The mediæval philosophy now appears as ultraorthodox; but there was certainly a time when it represented the boldest kind of modernism—and that ought perhaps to be an encouragement to men who feel called upon to combine the new and the old, to express the old in the new, to retain some of the old values but along with new ones, and to find for the whole a new mode of expression, new formulas; and who in consequence run the risk of being condemned by their own generation as modernists and radicals.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Connop Thirlwall: Historian and Theologian. By John Connop Thirlwall, Jr. London: S.P.C.K.; and New York, Macmillan, 1936, pp. xiii + 271. \$4.00.

Probably even to well informed churchmen, in America at least, Thirlwall is little more than a name. Yet to the first Victorian generation the Bishop of St David's was a power and an oracle; his charges, pronouncing judiciously upon momentous issues in Church and State, were eagerly awaited and received with respect. He was in the very forefront of every battle for *spaciousness* in the Church of England. He bore the scars of conflict, but they did not embitter him. He was among the first to break the complacent insularity of English theology by translating Schleiermacher. His championship of the rights of dissenters at Cambridge cost him his tutorship. While giving, in collaboration with Julius Hare, an English dress to Niebuhr's *Roman History* Thirlwall learned how to write a *History of Greece* more objective, more scientific than his friend Grote's, which has so completely overshadowed it. Yet in the esteem of competent judges Thirlwall stands higher than Grote as an historian.

Reserved, precocious (his first sermon was written at seven years of age, his first book published when he was only

eleven!), Thirlwall won his way by sheer force of intellect and fearless devotion to truth as he saw it. Gladstone, who was far from sharing his opinions, called him "one of the most masculine, powerful and luminous intellects that have for generations been known among the bishops of England." His contemporary, Bp. Browne of Ely, pronounced Thirlwall "not only the most learned prelate in Europe, but probably the most learned prelate who had ever presided over any see."

This is a large order! In any case, Thirlwall was the constant champion of liberalism, whether political, social, or theological. To read this excellent *Life* by an American kinsman who had access to family correspondence as well as to published remains, is to be brought into the very thick of English movements of thought and action from the first Tractarians to the Irish Church bill, to meet a host of other eminent Victorians, and at the same time to accompany a great ecclesiastic in his lighter moments. The causes for which this long-visioned man fought and suffered reproach are among the commonplaces of today. Perhaps this is why he is so largely forgotten, along with Gorham and Colenso and *Essays and Reviews*.

P. V. NORWOOD.

New Faith for Old: an Autobiography. By Shailer Mathews. Macmillan, 1936, pp. viii + 303. \$3.00.

"How new the world seemed to us as we swung our feet over the sunny side of the wharf. . . . Do boys still sit on Custom House Wharf and smell its unforgettable odors, and try to convince themselves that their mothers would not be quite implacable if one were to yield to the temptation of a rowboat at fifteen cents an hour?" The Maine lad's senses were keen for the sight, sound and smell of the sea, but greater than these was the urge upon him to *feel* its movement, pushing through or lifting with its surge. The boy became the man, Shailer Mathews. The currents and tides of Casco Bay became society and cosmic activity; his craft, the concept and practice of the "social gospel." *New Faith for Old* is the log of his adventures.

A friend's suggestion and the author's observation that autobiographies "enabled one to get at the human side of social change" account for publishing as *An Autobiography* a book "to trace the development of those religious changes which have resulted from new elements in our social life." As an autobiography, its literary structure is unusual. The first seven chapters proceed in accordance with the familiar pattern of life narrative, chronologically developed. Here are deft writing and wit in anecdote and clever phrase. Indeed, these chapters with Bliss Perry's *And Gladly Teach* should afford the general reader a wholesome balance to Santayana's *The Last Puritan*, as characterization rather than caricature of lives born and bred in New England. With the eighth chapter, however, the literary device changes. Thereafter distinct movements or ideas are individually traced under such chapter headings as The Social Gospel, Church Unity through Federation, Religion and Science. Continuity is obtained here only because a single personality acts through a diversity of questions. Written in the form and with the completeness of separate articles, these chapters tempt the criticism that they fail to give due consideration to views of these subjects other than those of the author, but such criticism is not proper to the review of autobiography. These chapters need thoughtful reading to avoid the hasty antagonism or acceptance which so dominant a personality as the Dean's often invites.

As the pleasant narrative is lost in modern liberal apoloia, the interest of the general reader will diminish. That of the student of American Church History should increase, for there is compensation for the loss of literary charm in such keen observations as:

"The separation of church and state does not mean the separation of Christians and citizenship."

"The real problem is how the churches of two races can co-operate for the good not only of the negro but of an entire community."

"To make a congregation of prosperous and middle class people purr with religious content is no way to stimulate them to sacrificial Christian living."

A marching God, whether he be Dean Mathews' "God of process" or the Lord of hosts, needs watchmen awake. This book is like a dash of cold water; it rouses even when it disturbs.

JEAN HENKEL JOHNSON.

An Outline of Christian Worship: its Development and Forms. By William D. Maxwell. Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 199. \$2.75.

This very useful handbook of historical liturgics comes, quite significantly, from the pen of a minister of the Church of Scotland. In some seventy pages Dr Maxwell sketches in broad lines the development of Christian worship down to the time of the Reformation, using to advantage and generally with accuracy the best authorities, whether Catholic or Protestant. An occasional slip seems to indicate, however, that he is not altogether at ease among the liturgical monuments of pre-reformation days. Thus we are told that in the medieval Latin Mass "the place of the Scripture lections had been usurped on a great many days by passages from the lives and legends of the saints" (p. 72). In the opinion of the present reviewer Dr Maxwell rates the 'Clementine' liturgy too highly in comparison with the liturgy of St James, and fails to do full justice to the *anaphora* in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*. Nevertheless, this part of the book is admirable in clearness and compression, although containing little that Anglican readers are likely to find new.

It is in his more extended treatment of the liturgical forms used in the Reformation churches that Maxwell makes his real contribution; and here he is very much at home. Anglicans commonly underestimate the strength and vitality of the liturgical tradition in both continental and British Calvinism. Here is a book to set us right in this matter. Maxwell emphasizes the point that the liturgical tradition of the Reformed churches (no less than the Lutheran) was Eucharist-centered. That Calvin would have preferred the Holy Communion on every Lord's day is of course well known. Its abandonment in Geneva was a necessity which

Calvin never ceased to regret. Very striking among the Reformed churches today is the recovery of this eucharistic tradition which was unfortunately allowed to lapse. Dr Maxwell reminds us that the later Scottish dislike of liturgical forms is due in part to the influence of English dissent in a barren era, in part to the attempt to impose the 'Laudian' Prayer Book of 1637 by the *fiat* of an arbitrary king in defiance of the rights and liberties of the Scottish Church. Today the lost heritage is being rapidly reclaimed.

The choir offices are briefly dismissed, as making no particular contribution, until quite recently, to the worship of the Reformed churches. Most of us would agree with Maxwell when he says that "worship that takes its structure from Morning Prayer must inevitably lack the centrality and objectiveness which characterize the Eucharist" (p. 167). For Sunday evening services, he thinks, the choir office forms are of value.

There is an extensive classified bibliography, listing the latest as well as the best of older titles, which one would find helpful in building up a liturgical library.

P. V. NORWOOD.

The Meaning of History. By Nicolas Berdyaev. Tr. from the Russian by George Reavey. Scribner, 1936, pp. vii + 224. \$3.00.

I have often thought that in place of the Rev. Dr Frederic Fleming's moratorium on preachers there should be a moratorium on prophets. But as with every good rule, there would have to be exceptions; and certainly Berdyaev is an exceptionally able prophet. *The Meaning of History* deals with a Christian interpretation of history. Believe it or not, Berdyaev gave these lectures in Moscow at the Liberal Academy of Spiritual Culture in 1919-1920. He has added, as an epilogue, an essay on *The Will to Life and The Will to Culture*, written in 1922, which gives his answer to Spengler's *The Decline of the West*. Berdyaev is not afraid to tackle big subjects and after laying his foundation in metaphysics (which should please President Hutchins) he goes on to apply

his dialectic to the destiny of the Jews, the Renaissance, and the Industrial Age.

Berdyaev's purpose is to do for us what St Augustine did in his generation. Berdyaev finds four periods in man's historical destiny: barbarism, culture, civilization, and religious transfiguration. These, he says, "can not be examined exclusively from the standpoint of chronology; for they can coexist; they represent, in fact, the different predispositions of the human spirit."

Berdyaev speaks as a conscious opponent of the ideas of Karl Marx but he speaks with respect. In his youth, he was an ardent and active disciple of Marx. In these lectures, delivered before a predominantly Marxist audience, he puts the question, "If economic materialism really contends that the human consciousness is no more than an adjunct of man's economic activities, then how are we to explain the origin of the intellect manifested by the prophets of economic materialism themselves, of that manifested by Marx and Engels, which towers above the mere passive reflection of economic relations?" Then Berdyaev goes on to state that "Marxism represents a striving to unite the pretensions of enlightened reason with claims comparable with those of ancient Israel."

Every chapter of *The Meaning of History* needs a summary by itself. But I merely touch on the ideas of the book in general, in order that the reader's appetite may be whetted for more. Christianity, says Berdyaev, has made possible both positive science and technique. For Christianity released mankind from the fear of demons. Going on from this point, he bases his whole philosophy of history upon the doctrine of the Ressurrection which validates human effort and guarantees the permanence of human achievement in every generation. Finally, he declares freedom to be the metaphysical basis of history.

In a future edition, I ask two favors. First, that an index be provided and, second, that Berdyaev write a preface

explaining his reference to mythology which strikes me as confusing.

In a recent conversation with Dr W. A. Visser 't Hooft, secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, he spoke of the vital importance in Christendom today of the Russian Seminary in Paris and of the magnificent leadership of two elderly Russian Orthodox, Bulgakov and Berdyaev, among students. As the Bishop of Milwaukee said recently in a missionary address, "There are no foreign countries now." Christians in all lands will find *The Meaning of History* worth careful study, and the depth of learning and the breadth of sympathy shown by Berdyaev should attract the thoughtful public everywhere.

FRANCIS J. BLOODGOOD.

The Nature of Religion. By Edward C. Moore. Macmillan, 1936, pp. ix + 368. \$2.50.

This book by the distinguished professor emeritus of Christian Morals at Harvard, attempts to determine the nature of religion by reference particularly to its manifestations in the experience of a Christian. The conclusions of the author as to the nature of religion are difficult to determine. It is clear, however, that Professor Moore feels that reason and intuition must be the guides in our search for any answer to the problem raised. The book is divided into four main sections. Part I deals with "The Nature of Our Knowledge of Religion." It is the chief function of reason, the author tells us, to criticize our intuitions through which comes our truest and deepest knowledge. The subject of Part II is "The Nature and Manifestations of Religion," and the general topic is divided into considerations of Worship, Organization, and Life. This whole section consists of an outline of Church history and its significant trends, and as such is valuable. Part III is entitled "The Transcendent." Here theological questions are approached. Several quotations will make clear the author's main convictions.

"God is that toward which the soul of Jesus went out in a measure which surpassed, we may suppose, the measure of any other man" (p. 258).

"I interpret the resurrection narratives as the visualization in terms natural to the disciples, as indeed to others of their time, of the intuition that the spirit of Jesus could not die" (p. 261).

"The greatest power for good in the world may well be the suffering which those who do evil bring upon those who love them . . . who are willing to bear all . . . if only the other can be led to see and abjure the evil and give himself to the good" (p. 304).

Part IV, "Reality and Realization," is a discussion of the relations between religion, art, morality and science.

PAUL S. KRAMER.

American Philosophies of Religion. By Henry Nelson Wieman and Bernard Eugene Meland. Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark & Company, 1936, pp. xiii + 370. \$3.00.

In *American Philosophies of Religion* Dr Wieman and Dr Meland have provided a survey of present day non-Catholic philosophy of religion in America. Disregarding traditional classifications of philosophical systems, which they maintain do not adapt themselves to a classification of philosophies of religion, they divide the *American Philosophies of Religion* into four groups: those rooted in the tradition of Supernaturalism, those rooted in the tradition of Idealism, those rooted in the tradition of Romanticism, and those rooted in the tradition of Naturalism.

The Supernaturalists are divided into two groups: the Traditional Supernaturalists, represented by Machen, Mullins and Patton, and the "Neo-Supernaturalists," which is made up of a group of men all of whom show to a considerable extent the influence of Karl Barth, among them the two Niebuhrs and Wilhelm Pauck. The neo-supernaturalists, the authors point out, differ from the traditional supernaturalists in that they "extricate the supernatural from all entangling alliances with this natural world." For the neo-supernaturalist neither reason, nor mystical experience, nor the church as an historical institution, nor the Bible, nor even the historical Jesus, can give authoritative guidance about God and his ways. These

things are known by God's direct revelation of himself to the individual.

In the group of philosophers whose intellectual roots go down into the tradition of idealism, we have the Absolutists, including among others Royce, Hocking and William M. Urban; Rufus Jones and Charles A. Bennett, classified as Modern Mystics; and the Personalists represented by Bowne, Brightman, Flewelling, and other familiar names. The idealists are perhaps as far as any group of thinkers from the point of view represented by the authors themselves, but the section in which they are included is very well done, and the six-page account of Royce's philosophy is a masterpiece.

The Romanticists have this in common, "that they find it 'wisdom to believe the heart,' and make the appeal to religious experience basic in their method of attaining religious insight." Romanticism produces two emphases in religious thought, the ethical and the æsthetic. The ethical emphasis is represented on the philosophical side by Macintosh, Lyman, and Beckwith, and on the theological side by William Adams Brown, Walter Horton, Henry Van Dusen and John C. Bennett. The æsthetic emphasis is represented by such diverse thinkers as Santayana, John C. Ransom, Baker Brownell and Hartley Alexander. References to Anglo-Catholicism on page 45 and on page 47 suggest that this movement has been largely influenced by the æsthetic phase of the romantic tradition. This is probably true, but it must be borne in mind that in the philosophy behind Anglo-Catholicism there are many elements more substantial than those which are manifestations of the romantic spirit.

The Philosophies of Religion that grow out of the tradition of Naturalism have their common ground in the effort to build a religious faith on the facts made available by the sciences. The chief differences between the different representatives of this point of view have to do with their interpretation of the natural order. On the one hand we have the Evolutionary Theists, with such names as John E. Boodin, William

P. Montague and Robert L. Calhoun, and the Cosmic Theists like Whitehead, who interpret God in terms of cosmic process. On the other hand we have the Religious Humanists—Max Otto, Roy Sellars, A. E. Haydon, Walter Lippmann, and some others—who hold to a radical empiricism. Somewhere between these two groups are the Empirical Theists, in which group the authors of this book place themselves together with Ames, Dewey, and Shailer Mathews. They differ from the Humanists by believing in God, be it vaguely, like Ames and Dewey, or in terms more like the traditional ones like Mathews, Wieman and Meland. On the other hand, their empiricism will not let them set up the somewhat intricate cosmologies of the Evolutionary Theists and the Cosmic Theists.

American Philosophies of Religion makes no attempt to deal with the Catholic point of view in philosophy of religion. The authors would probably agree that Catholic philosophy of religion is a different kind of thing. On the one hand it is set in a dogmatic framework, and on the other hand it includes within itself many different strains. It is not simply one more "system" that can be compared with Royce's philosophy of religion, or that of Dewey, or Santayana, or Meland or Wieman. And the reason that it is not simple and clear-cut is that it is eclectic. It has a place within itself for men who hold in some degree almost every opinion included in this book. Yet there is a unity about it in spite of this—a unity which is not a unity of philosophical theory but a unity which comes from loyalty to a body of tradition—a unity of life within a church.

From the viewpoint of one who has a "Catholic" outlook, be it Roman Catholic or some other kind, the shortcoming of all these philosophies of religion is the absence of any doctrine of the church. Religion is a social matter, and while there must be a place for individual enterprise, there is a sense in which the group must have a voice not only in what a person does but in what he believes. Philosophy of religion needs

desperately at this time a more explicit theory of the nature and limits of the authority of the church in matters of belief. The Anglican Church is said to be in a key position to mediate between Catholic and Protestant in the matter of Church Unity. Perhaps it has a similar opportunity in this question of philosophy of religion. However this may be, this book is an excellent piece of work and will well repay study by anyone who wants to get a cross section of religious thinking in America today.

C. L. STREET.

Motive and Method in a Christian Order. By Josiah Stamp. Abingdon Press, 1936, pp. 239. \$2.00.

Sir Josiah Stamp is one of the leading economists of our times. He is also one of the leading Christian laymen of Great Britain. His latest book has grown out of the criticism of a lecture which he gave before the British Institute of Philosophy, 'Can Present Human Motives Work a Planned Society?'—that, plus a further incentive in the invitation of his rector to take the chair at a weekly 'guild' meeting devoted to the advocacy of 'Social Credit.' Sir Josiah is somewhat fed up with the identification of Christianity with some particular economic scheme or other, and with such remarks as sometimes come from the pulpit: 'If this plan [whatever it is] is called bad economics, then so much the worse for economics!' He points out that as a matter of record the Bishops in the House of Lords have for a hundred and fifty years and longer voted consistently against social measures; and the record of the Non-conformist clergymen is not much better. On the other hand, the enthusiastic attempts of quite a number of modern 'socially-minded' preachers to line up the Church with their particular program of reform is not likely to reflect much more credit upon the Church in days to come. He suggests that the Church should develop its own experts in the field of economics as well as in apologetics, exegetical studies, psychology, law, biology and eugenics. But the careless, effusive, emotional preaching

upon economic topics which seems so popular at the present time, probably does more harm than good.

"To write or speak vaguely, warmly, and categorically on social reform is not enough; social reform must come last in the economic curriculum. After full mastery of the theory of value, the nature of price and rent, and all the horrid jargon of currency, margins, indifference, curves, and co-efficients of correlation, shall the student win his right to the lush pastures of emotion, indignation, and pontification. Frankly, short courses of lectures on social problems, and readings in the atmosphere of economics without tears, while excellent for general purposes, do not satisfy this requirement. They may be good in themselves, but they are the peptonized food of ready-made conclusions, and tempt the student to think he has 'done' the subject. To do any good with it in the mind, you must get a headache; to do any good with it in the world, a heartache" (p. 187).

The author sets forth in an appendix which he calls 'The Economic Canon of the New Testament,' a grouping of passages under economic titles. In the body of the book he discusses at length the application of the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard to present-day economic conditions, and argues against E. Stanley Jones for omitting the phrase 'in spirit' from the first Matthean beatitude. It is evident that Sir Josiah is not much more familiar with New Testament criticism than his opponents are with economics. Although this reviewer naturally inclines to agree with the author's defense of capitalism, it is becoming increasingly obvious that capitalism cannot survive 'as is'; it must be greatly revised and subjected to far more drastic controls either by its own leaders or by society at large than any which it has suffered hitherto. Sir Josiah admits in one place that men would probably be willing to do their best work for considerably less in the way of monetary rewards, if the standards of the community required; and he recommends to Americans the substitution of symbolic tokens of recognition, ribbons, titles, and other decorations, in lieu of vast fortunes. The prevailing temper in certain parts of this country is certainly against any flowering of knighthood in this generation; but it certainly seems that society as a whole, and almost unanimously, at least in this country, is determined to tax out of existence the fortunes which have been amassed in the unrestrained

competition and unlimited profit-taking which capitalism makes possible.

Whether or not capitalism is to survive is a question for experts in the fields of economics and politics to prognosticate—if they can be induced to prophesy! Failing a sure word of prophecy we had probably better wait and see how events turn out in the actual course of history. One thing seems certain—and more certain as time goes on—and it is a point upon which we can agree with the author of this book: viz. that Christianity is not necessarily to be identified with any type of social organization or control. Neither democracy nor capitalism, socialism nor communism, nor monarchy, is necessarily the best or most adequate corollary of Christianity. What Christianity is concerned over is the root motives of human conduct; and it would do little good to abolish—or to retain—capitalism and still leave greed and covetousness enthroned in the human heart. As a matter of fact, short of a re-making of human nature, one sees little hope for the establishment of any kind of social Utopia. With the main drift of the author's argument, we are in complete accord: the Church's real business is to make over human individuals, not to provide the machinery for social or economic reform, or even for propaganda in that direction.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Hiller's First Foes—A Study in Religion and Politics. By John Brown Mason. Burgess Publishing Co., Minneapolis, Minn., 1936, pp. v + 118.

Here is an interesting study, one of the first of its kind, and therefore more than welcome, of the conflict between the National Socialist Party and the Roman Catholic Church. The kind of critic who thinks that Christianity has lost its power in the modern world will be exceedingly surprised in reading this book to see with what resolute conviction and heroic strength the Roman Church has struggled against Cæsarism in the modern day. The nine chapters of the book portray the story of the conflict between Romanism and Naziism from an early moment when it was first realized

that the latter was not only a political movement but also a "Weltanschauung," a philosophy of life. The opposition of the Roman Church began against Nazism at the very moment when it was realized that the ethical, the moral and racial teachings of the National Socialist Party were fundamentally contradictory of Catholic Christianity. As soon as the Hitlerites became powerful politically this conflict no longer assumed the form of Roman Catholic episcopal wording in pastoral literature and spoken word, but assumed a terrific political movement in the Centrist Party to stop the growth of Hitlerism at all costs. The story of the Centrist Party during the elections preceding the final establishment of the dictatorship is an interesting story of growth and vitality and clear-cut realization of the issues at stake in a period in which all of the other German parties, with the exception of the Communist Party, were confused, weakened and crumbling from an inner decay.

The reader will be astonished at the barbarity of methods used by the Nazi, during the final elections. Dr. Goering's statements to the Prussian police in which no words are minced, telling the State Police force actively to aid the Nazi and use even their guns if necessary to suppress the opposing parties, is an astonishing revelation of the manner in which Hitler came into power. And it is more than a commentary on what the Roman Catholic clergy and people fearlessly faced when they went to the polls and voted according to their convictions and actually increased their seats in the Reichstag throughout every election. No party, however convinced, could long maintain itself against such abusive measures. When Hitler finally came into control the Roman Catholics entered into a concordat with the government, and the Centrist Party was dissolved. The concordat was held at the time as one of the great major advances in an establishment of peaceful relations between the German government and the Vatican City. And even Hitler himself seemed greatly pleased that the matter had come to such an agreeable

conclusion. In a short time, however, practically every term of the concordat had been broken by the German government, and the church in the new Germany at the time when this book was written was faced with a serious crisis. Since the book was written and in the light of the events of the past few months it appears that a complete change in the religious situation in Germany has taken place, due partly to the recognition of the horrible atrocities that have taken place in Spain, both on the part of the church and of the government in the face of Communism, and also because of the pronounced antagonism of the government against Soviet Russia. Many think that Hitler will do everything in his power now to enlist the support of all religious groups in the face of their common foe, Communism.

This book has an appendix which includes twenty pages of key documents, and this is an exceedingly valuable addition to the book. The author has written fairly well with an occasional tendency to split his infinitives.

J. HEUSS.

The Organist and the Choirmaster. By Charles N. Boyd. Abingdon Press, 1936, pp. 99. \$1.50.

A young organist who could find not only no valuable instruction but also no inspiration in Dr Boyd's book has little or no future in the fine art of musical ministry on the organ bench. Dr Boyd addresses himself to the young organist, but older organists who insist on staying young in their outlook will avail themselves of this new addition to the limited literature on service playing.

It is at once evident that the author is more than just an organ teacher. He insists from the first that service playing is an art, a fine art worthy of the most sustained preparation. The standard of technical and artistic proficiency set for the young organist is heartening. He must know not only how to play, but also what to play. Above and beyond these, the author properly stresses the importance of painstaking preparation of every detail.

In the first five chapters, the organist's approach to the Voluntary, the Doxology, the Anthem, the Offertory, and the "fortissimo" Postlude or "outgoing voluntary" is clearly covered. Chapters eleven, twelve, and thirteen treat respectively of Vocal Solos, Choir Rehearsals, and The Organist and the Church. Chapters six to ten inclusive are devoted to Hymn Tunes. That the author should devote the heart of his book to the much neglected hymn-tune is significant. Here is developed the thesis that the playing of an organ voluntary is one thing; that of a hymn-tune quite another. It is hoped that this emphasis will come as a shock to those organists who look upon hymn playing as a boresome task. Dr Boyd is right. He lays the emphasis where it should be.

OLIVER S. BELTZ.

A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. New ed. by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Part IX. *Sisillos- Tragaō.* Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 1601-1808. \$3.50.

The new Liddell and Scott continues to appear at the rate of one installment a year—now and then, as in the present instance, one in two years. As this REVIEW has already pointed out, one of the great advantages of the new edition over the old is the fuller amount of attention given to the papyri and the careful definitions of technical terms in the light of the research which has been carried on during the past forty years (since the 8th edition). The new edition will be of importance for students of the New Testament and of the Septuagint and also of early Christian literature generally—sometimes as much by what is left out as by what is contained. Under *skēnopoios*, for example, no other interpretation is offered than 'tent-maker' for Acts 18: 3. It can hardly mean 'maker of stage properties,' though the word was sometimes used in that sense!—*Tektōn*, some authors would persuade us, meant 'builder' in the New Testament; but the prevailing Greek usage was clearly in the direction of 'worker in wood, carpenter, joiner,' though the term is sometimes widened to include any craftsman or the master of any art, even including gymnastics. It was, as a rule, modified by some adjective or appositive which made the usage clear. Furthermore the Sanskrit root points clearly in the direction of carpentry. This, together with the fact that houses in Palestine were not as a rule erected by carpenters but by masons, ought to be more or less conclusive for the meaning of the term as used in the Synoptic Gospels.

F. C. G.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Old Testament

A History of Religion in the Old Testament. By Max Loehr. Scribner, 1936, pp. 192. \$2.00.

This is modestly termed a hand-book. But while it is small in size for the field which it covers, it represents quite evidently a life-time of study so well spent that the author is able to choose for presentation those essential and abiding features of Israel's religion with which every student should be familiar.

His view of Hebrew history is somewhat conservative, especially in the post-exilic period, but this is the more welcome in that he does not allow any unproved theory of the progress of the history to color his view of the progress of religious experience. Indeed he guards his reader against such theories many times, especially in those brief discussions of the sources which precede each larger division of the book. He shows his familiarity with archaeological discoveries; but also makes perfectly clear that while these discoveries have helped give us a background for the life of the Hebrews, they have raised almost as many questions as they have settled.

His study of the Prophetic Era is the most satisfactory brief statement covering that period with which the reviewer is familiar. While of necessity avoiding too great detail it does justice to the tremendous religious importance of Hebrew prophetism.

In addition to the reliability of the author's statements the whole is very clearly stated so that the book can be used by those who would only be confused by long and involved arguments about sources and the like. It should have a high place as a dependable outline study of the growth and fruitage of Israel's religious experience.

F. A. M.

Hebrew Origins. The Haskell Lectures for 1933-34. By Theophile James Meek. Harper, 1936, pp. ix + 220. \$2.00.

To this reviewer Professor Meek's name is associated with thrilling papers at sessions of the American Oriental Society on subjects that would, if connected with the name of most of us lesser mortals, give promise only of tedious reasoning and boredom; with tantalizing short studies in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* or the *Bulletin* of the American Oriental Society; or with bits of beautiful prose and poetry in *The Bible, An American Translation*.

Hebrew Origins makes available to a wider circle of readers the same charm and fresh excursions of thought based upon the soundest of scholarship which has been the privilege of those of us who have sat more literally at the author's feet.

The work is made up of a series of lectures dealing with Hebrew beginnings and development: the origin of the Hebrew people, Hebrew Law, Hebrew God, Hebrew Priesthood, Hebrew Prophecy, Hebrew Monotheism.

The most significant study would seem to be the first. Here stated briefly, well footnoted and revealing complete familiarity with the field, Dr Meek presents what has come to be known as the American Theory of the Exodus. It is altogether fitting and proper that he should do this since the theory received its initial impetus from his own suggestions made some years ago in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. Briefly stated, this theory conceives the entrance into Canaan to have taken place in two parts, that of the Joseph tribes into the North in early Amarna times, and that of the Leah tribes into the South in the late thirteenth century. This last invasion, however, would seem to involve only the Levites and, of course, Moses. Perhaps under the impulse of these latter the southern tribes, already dedicated to Yahweh, were knit into a unity and nationalism.

While giving full weight to similarities the author places somewhat less dependence upon the Code of Hammurabi as a basis for Hebrew Law than do many scholars. Indebtedness, one feels from the argument, is more largely due to common heritage and culture.

To this reviewer the study of the Origin of the Hebrew God was a constant delight. Here better than any place in his experience are all the varied theories weighed, tested and evaluated.

The last three lectures, more philosophical in tone, are equally well reasoned and plausible.

Criticism, if there must be such, can be directed principally at the scope of the work. As in the case of Professor William C. Graham's *The Prophets and Israel's Culture*, too many fruitful and valuable ideas seem to have been packed within the compass of a very small book. One can only utter the fervent hope that the author will expand this work like a German *Handbuch* in the near future. For the present, this work went onto the reviewer's reserve shelf the day it was received in the library and five of his students have already purchased it for themselves without even his suggestion.

A. D. A., JR.

Culture and Conscience. An Archaeological Study of the New Religious Past in Ancient Palestine. By William Creighton Graham and Herbert Gordon May. University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. xxviii + 356. \$2.50.

As suggested above, when Professor Graham's *The Prophets and Israel's Culture* appeared a little over a year ago this reviewer expressed the fervent hope that the wealth of material assayed by the small volume would be properly exploited before too long a time. In this present work one may make a shrewd guess that we have only the preliminary steps toward opening up the shaft to the pay dirt. Even if that be not true, *Culture and Conscience* deserves to stand on its own feet as an exceedingly profitable and worthwhile venture.

It is no small coincidence that this work should appear and be available for review at the same time as Professor Meek's book. They have a world in common. Where *Hebrew Origins* explores the field of learning and philosophical reasoning, *Culture and Conscience* explores that of archaeological research. Each has an adequate quantity of the other type of research to make it valid but each also makes its own distinctive contribution. It is a tribute to the methods of each that their different paths bring them out at essentially the same place.

This work, however, is employed in one interest that the other treats very little if at all: the development of the *cultus* in Palestine. So surprising is its chief thesis to this reviewer that he feels he must do a considerable amount of personal study before he is prepared to accept it without question. This is the statement reiterated over and over again that the Canaanite Cult of the Fertility Deity owes its beginning in Palestine to the cultural impact of the Hyksos. That there are tremendous Hurrian influences in the Old Testament it is not easy to doubt in the light of studies made within the last few years, but the connections with Hyksos and Ras Shamrah are not yet well enough tried and tested to be completely satisfactory. This, however, is also the essential feeling of the authors, it seems evident, and the connections between Hyksos, Hurrians, and Kassites must await a great deal more of spade work before conclusions can be reached with any degree of certainty.

Of great interest are the discussions in this connection of the world viewpoint engendered by the development and decadence of the *cultus*. Here, courageously and ably undertaken is an attempt to reach an explanation for developing monotheism through a philosophical investigation of the implications of the impact of society and social organization upon religion. In this sense the work should be of absorbing interest to the student of social organization and pressures in general.

As in the case of Professor Graham's earlier work this is founded upon a clear understanding of the geographical, economic and political pressures of this region. Building upon that foundation the archaeology of Palestine is drawn upon copiously for data from the first dawning of man in this region to the emergence of Jesus. Adequate illustrations aid in pointing the conclusions carefully argued in the text and richly footnoted.

A. D. A., JR.

Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Edited by C. H. Roberts. Manchester University Press, 1936, pp. 62. Half a crown.

Here is an account (illustrated) of the only portions of the Bible actually written B.C. that are known to exist: fragments of the Greek translation of Deuteronomy written in Egypt in the second century B.C. As regards text, the evidence of the fragments is against the superiority of the Vatican manuscript (B). The second piece is a fragment of a Testimony book of the fourth century A.D.

A. H. F.

Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Græcum. Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum. IX, 1: *Maccabæorum liber I.* Edidit Werner Kappler. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936, pp. 48 + 146. RM 12.60, sent outside Germany RM 9.45; by subscription for whole work RM 9, sent outside Germany RM 6.75.

Volume X (*Psalmi cum Odis*) of this Göttingen Septuagint appeared in 1931. The Göttingen editors are, so to speak, working backwards in order that their volumes may not synchronize with the volumes of the Cambridge Septuagint now appearing in parts beginning with Genesis. It is satisfactory to know that the death of Dr Rahlfs last April is not going to interfere with the issue of this great work. The present part is a necessity to anyone who wants a critical text of *First Maccabees*.

A. H. F.

Commentaires Inédits des Psaumes: Étude sur les Textes d'Origène contenus dans le Manuscrit Vindobonensis 8. By René Cadiou. Paris: Société d'Édition, "Les Belles Lettres," 1936, pp. 141.

The manuscript here studied contains the commentary of Diodorus of Tarsus on the Psalms in the centre, with the inner margin carrying a patristic catena and the outer margin a commentary attributed to Origen, but which is not his in its entirety. Origen is the sole representative of the Alexandrian school in the manuscript, which makes large use of Antiochene commentators. The writer of the manuscript has tried, in some cases, to harmonize the conclusions of the two schools. M. Cadiou distinguishes the presence of three works of Origen in the manuscript, viz. scholia which belong to his Alexandrian days, the twenty *Tomoi* which he left in the library at Cæsarea, and his Homilies on the Psalms. Most interesting are the first group, brief scholia which give full rein to Origen's habit of reading Christ into the Psalms, but which are tersely put and brilliant. M. Cadiou has done a thorough and careful piece of work. S. E. J.

The Jews: Race, Nation, or Religion? By Solomon Zeitlin. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1936, pp. v + 41. \$75.

A revised reprint of an article from J. Q. R. The author maintains that "in the early days of our history there was a distinctly Hebrew race. By the time of the Second Commonwealth there was no longer a pure Hebrew race. Only the Jews who lived in Palestine constituted the Jewish nation and called themselves Judæans. The Jews of Babylon were not members of the Jewish nation. They were only united to the Jews of Palestine by religion and culture. They called themselves Hebrews or Israelites. After the destruction of the Temple, the Jews segregated themselves as a religious group, *keneseth Israel*, and no longer called themselves Judæans but Israelites" (pp. 40f). F. C. G.

Israel's Wisdom Literature. By O. S. Rankin. New York: Scribner's, 1936, pp. xvi + 271. \$4.50.

This is a very learned book and traverses the whole field of Old Testament literature, a large part of the literature of Judaism, modern philosophy, and the history of religions. Its one defect is that it is perhaps too learned and not sufficiently critical. The author knows too many things and he has not concentrated his attention sufficiently—at any rate this will undoubtedly be the judgment of a good many readers. He gives one the impression of covering too much territory. This has been a defect of more than one Old Testament scholar.

One of the theses of the book is that "Hebrew humanism as being a native product of the Wisdom literature which has its roots deep in that Oriental wisdom which is much older than the earliest writing prophets of Israel, we may more justly conclude that the prophetic teaching on its social side was inspired and nurtured by Israel's wisdom writers, who as composers of maxims and ethical instructors were active from the time of the establishment of the state under Solomon." There is good evidence for this theory, certainly in the Egyptian parallels as well as within the Old Testament itself.

Another thesis is that the development of religious individualism, which consisted "in the belief that the individual person was subject of the deity's care and oversight, was liable to the divine reward or retribution, blessing or curse, was governed in his civic relationships by laws that were of divine provenance," antedates the earliest of the writing prophets. There is evidence for this point, too; but it probably needs to be modified.

The author is apparently convinced of the theory of the myth of the pre-existent Wisdom which a good many scholars have believed to be widely spread throughout the Orient. Zoroastrianism, for example, is supposed to provide an example. Accordingly, "when we consider the character of Wisdom as an intermediary Being active in creation, her relationship to Jahve not as a mere associate deity, but, as begotten of Him, an 'effluence' of His glory, and 'effulgence from everlasting light,' a subtle power, 'more mobile than any motion' (Sap. Sol. 7: 22f), her identification with the Law, with Religion or Belief, we may perceive that she owes her origin not solely or chiefly to Jewish conflict with Babylonian Ishtar worship, but rather to Jewish contact with that Chaldean-Iranian syncretic religion in which the more speculative, ethical, and spiritual element is Iranian."

It would have helped if the author had provided a brief straightforward summary of his views; the book is only 264 pages long and it ought to be possible to set forth in a dozen pages or so exactly what he thinks of some of the points at issue. Instead, he goes on quoting author after author and ranging so far afield that one wonders if he can ever retrace his steps. And it would certainly commend the book in the eyes of a good many readers if he did not cling to the absurd spelling Jahve: that spelling was forgivable in the '80s or '90s when Old Testament scholars were predominantly German; but it is scarcely excusable today, though there are a number of authors who retain it. Among other things perhaps, it 'dates' a man.

F. C. G.

New Testament

A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature. By Martin Dibelius. Scribner's, 1936, pp. 280. \$2.00.

For ten years Martin Dibelius's *History of Early Christian Literature* has been widely used by scholars. It is in two volumes in the 'Sammlung Göschen.' It is a very brief little book but it sets the early Christian literature against its proper background. The Gospels are interpreted in the light of their sources and of the traditions lying behind the sources. Some of the tendencies which finally resulted in the apocryphal gospels of the second century are observed at work even in the first. The Gospel of John in particular is studied in this setting of second century apocryphal gospel literature.

The same is true of other early Christian literature. The Apocalypse, for instance, is studied in relation to the Synoptic Apocalypse (Mark 13 and parallels), and the Apocalypse of Peter, on one hand, and the *Shepherd* of Hermas on the other. Paul's Letters are studied in relation to ancient epistolary literature and other Christian letters, e.g. those of Ignatius and the Letter of Polycarp.

Dibelius is an expert in both literary and form criticism and his little book is one of the best introductions we have.

All the greater is our regret, and all but resentment, over the wretched translation which lies before us. There is scarcely a page which does not contain some error either in English idiom or in statement of fact, and in passage after passage the reader ought really to look up the German original. Almost any page may be taken at random; for example, p. 82, 'womenkind' should of course be 'woman-kind'; 'Egyptian Gospels' should certainly be 'Egyptian Gospel'; 'Apostolic decrees,' p. 23, is a monstrosity—the reference is to the *Didache*; and Goethe would turn over in his grave if he heard the translation of one of his couplets on page 27.

It is a vast pity that someone familiar with the English tongue and equally familiar with the subject of the book was not asked to revise the translation before it appeared.

F. C. G.

Jew and Greek: Tutors unto Christ. By G. H. C. MacGregor and A. C. Purdy. Scribners, 1936, pp. 366. \$2.75.

It is difficult to do a "background" book without either making it too sketchy or running into "the danger of being unable to see the wood for the trees." Professors MacGregor and Purdy have avoided both faults and given us a book which will be admirable for use in college or seminary classes. Dr Purdy writes the sections on Judaism, which include the religion itself, its parties, and its impact on Hellenism, and takes the sane point of view that it is a high religion in its own right. He accepts Olmstead's order: Ezra comes, then Nehemiah. One feels that he might have given more space to John Hyrcanus and his immediate successors; but this is not very serious. His view of Pharisaism (pp. 64, 73, 94) is that its distinctive contribution is its demand that religion embrace the whole of life. The Zadokite sect is not thought of as being very important.

Dr MacGregor, already so well known as the commentator on the Fourth Gospel, gives an able and balanced treatment of Hellenism, beginning with "the Greek point of view"—a fine chapter—and taking up religion, philosophy, social institutions, mystery religions and gnosticism. The philosophical schools and the mysteries are difficult to disentangle, and he gives brief, sufficient summaries. One applauds such statements as the following: "The smart contrast so often drawn between the primitive 'religion of Jesus' and the later Hellenistic 'religion about Jesus' is of course entirely misleading, for Jesus' teaching about God is rooted basically upon a personal consciousness of his own unique relationship to God, and cannot be separated from it" (p. 337).

The term "Asideans" is used on p. 70, but "Hasideans" on p. 60. There are slight misprints on pp. 63, 139, 343, which will perhaps be corrected as the book goes into more printings, as it deserves to do.

S. E. J.

Searching the Scriptures. By H. E. Dana. New Orleans: Bible Institute Memorial Press, 1936, pp. 253.

It is a long time since a book on New Testament Hermeneutics appeared. One of the latest is Farrar's *History of Interpretation*—and that appeared in 1886! Naturally, most of the progress in the modern interpretation of the New Testament has taken place since that date. There is a good deal to be changed—though Farrar is still good on the historical side, and better than one would expect,

perhaps, on the exegetical. Professor Dana's book is much briefer and gives an account not only of the history of interpretation, but also of the modern study of the text and language of the New Testament, and gives concrete examples and directions for the practice of interpretation.

Of particular interest is his reformulation of the rules of textual criticism, which are briefly set forth on pages 201f: "(1) A reading is to be judged by the value rather than the number of its witnesses. (2) That reading is to be preferred which presents the least reason for its presence. (3) A shorter reading is to be preferred to a longer. (4) That reading is to be preferred which is most difficult to harmonize with the rest of the New Testament. (5) That reading is to be preferred which best explains the others. (6) A reading is to be judged by the evident characteristics of its author." He says that a summary principle underlying all other methods is that "no reading is to be selected upon the use of any one test alone, but all evidences and textual principles are to be employed as far as they will apply, and the case decided upon the resultant balance of probability."

The book combines in a remarkable way things new and old, and seeks to retain the positive values of the older approach to the New Testament as well as to set forth the positive gains contained in the new. The author never overlooks the insistent fact which confronts all our studies of the New Testament, viz. that it is primarily a book of religion. It is a pity that the volume could not have been given a somewhat more attractive format, and there are a number of misprints.

F. C. G.

Studies in the New Testament: Collected Papers of Clayton R. Bowen. Ed. by Robert J. Hutcheon. University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. viii + 182. \$2.00.

The late Professor Clayton R. Bowen of Meadville Theological School was not only a sound New Testament scholar but one of the most charming of friends to those who knew him intimately, and a man of sterling Christian character, beloved and honored by all who knew him. The spirit of the man quite as much as his scholarship is reflected in these collected papers. The volume will be greatly treasured by all who knew the author.

But the volume is more than a memorial collection. There are papers whose freshness and suggestiveness will open up new avenues of approach to some of the perennial problems—chiefly those in the Gospels and Book of Acts. Two or three of them it was the privilege of this REVIEW to publish.

The volume opens with Dr Bowen's inaugural lecture at Meadville, on 'The Task of New Testament Interpretation,' where the author set an ideal which out-distances historical and literary criticism quite as much as it does theological interpretation: it leads directly into the realm of religious experience. The 'Prolegomena to a New Study of John the Baptist' gathers up just about all the material there is on the subject and is a strong argument for the interpretation that John's disciples and the early Christians, like the Jews, *baptized themselves*. The *hupo* in Mark 1: 5 means that the converts were baptized at John's direction, or in response to his preaching. (It is interesting to note that the Western text of Luke 3: 7 has 'in his presence.') The third paper (reprinted from A.J.T.) deals

with John the Baptist in the New Testament, and is an even wider summary and sifting of the tradition.

Dr Bowen was a 'thorough-going eschatologist' and his working theory is set forth in the paper he read as president of the S. B. L. E. at Chicago in 1924. Acts 1: 4 is interpreted to mean 'sharing a common meal'—which ties on with Luke 24: 43.

His paper on 'The Place of Ephesians among the Letters of Paul' is reprinted from this REVIEW, volume xv. The remaining papers have to do with the Fourth Gospel, clear, incisive, even brilliant interpretations not lacking in a real love for that unique book. It is a pity that there was not room in this volume for one of his earlier papers published in this REVIEW, 'Comments on the Fourth Gospel' (volume xii, pp. 225-238), in which he brilliantly defended the thesis that the Fourth Gospel was never finished but was left in a kind of rough first draft by its author. One of the outstanding characteristics of Bowen's work is that he always saw the New Testament as a collection of documents of religion. This characteristic clearly rested back upon a deep and sincere religious life within the man himself.

F. C. G.

The Gospels and the Critic. By A. W. F. Blunt. Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 82. \$1.00.

This little book is an expansion of the Bishop of Bradford's paper at the Bournemouth Church Congress last year, and sets forth a defense of criticism for the benefit of disturbed lay-people and others unfamiliar with its methods and alarmed over its reported results. The author gives a readable account of the course of modern historical and literary criticism and leads up eventually to the work of the form critics. It may be questioned whether 'liberal Protestants'—if any of them are still alive in this generation—will accept his account of their views; to many they will seem like a caricature. His strictures upon Form Criticism (pp. 61ff) are worthy of notice, especially in view of the fact that the author himself holds that the early Christian tradition 'is itself part of the data which have to be brought into consideration, and that we must not dissect the documents as if they were dead specimens of literature, but must remember that they are the products of a living society and have only been preserved to us at all because there was a living society which both guaranteed and safeguarded them' (p. 16).

The author's aim is frankly apologetic and no doubt the book will be useful in reassuring troubled readers.

F. C. G.

The Purpose of Acts. By Burton Scott Easton. London: S.P.C.K., 1936, pp. 48. 2s.

Dr Easton's Reinicke Lectures delivered at the Virginia Seminary in April, 1935, dealt with the aim and outlook, and incidentally to some extent with the structure and sources, of the Book of Acts. They make what will be to many readers a fresh approach to Luke's second volume, and help one to see much more clearly the *raison d'être* of that work.

Luke's purpose in writing the Book of Acts is, according to Dr Easton, to show that Christianity is nothing more nor less than Judaism—that is, one party (not

'sect') within Judaism; and therefore entitled to claim, as a *religio licita*, protection at the hands of the Roman authorities. This colors everything in the book, the view of the origin of the Church, its development and growth, its organization and polity, the faith of the earliest Christians, and the progress of the Church in its spread from Jerusalem to Rome. Now no doubt St Luke was arguing a case; but he was not creating the evidence out of thin air. As a matter of fact, the early Church was very largely Jewish, at least during the period covered by the Book of Acts. But in view of St Paul's Letters and other evidence, Luke, in arguing his case, did not give us a balanced historical presentation. Hence the student of the Book of Acts has to read between the lines and get below the surface to the underlying sources wherever possible. He has to read with judgment and discrimination.

So read, the Book of Acts is a capital collection of historical material for the earliest Christianity. Dr Easton shows how the book is to be read and his Lectures contain many stimulating suggestions. Among other good things are the comments on the polity of the early Church as reflected in Acts, contained in Chapter Four, esp. pp. 26ff, a chapter which should be pondered by all persons interested in Christian Reunion, and by any who are not!

F. C. G.

A Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures. By J. B. R. Walker. Macmillan, 1936, pp. vi + 957. \$3.00.

The new edition of Walker's *Concordance* has been printed from new plates upon lightweight paper so that the book is scarcely two inches thick. It is based upon the Authorized Version and claims to be—at least according to the publishers—the most scholarly concordance that we have, and to contain about 50,000 more references than other concordances.

Its chief advantage is its handy size. It does not have the definitions nor the classification by Hebrew and Greek originals, nor the large, open page that you find in Young; but on the other hand it is less than half the size of the latter volume and considerably cheaper in price.

F. C. G.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Vol. iii, Lfgn. 5-8. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936. M. 2.90 each.

The present installments take us from *hiereus* to *ekklesia*. We repeat what has been said heretofore in these pages: the work is simply indispensable to the serious student of the N.T. It is not a lexicon, but a series of word-studies, in alphabetical order; and under each study is grouped all the available material—classical, LXX, Josephus and other Jewish writers in Greek, the N.T. itself and other early Christian writings, the Jewish literature, both rabbinic and popular; with the result that the reader is enabled to judge the N.T. usage, and 'get the feel' of words, from a broader acquaintance with the thought and language of the age in which the N.T. was written. Moreover, the authors do not hesitate to arrive at conclusions—the book is more than a thesaurus.

We can only marvel that the work continues to appear, steadily, in spite of the strain and tension in Europe at the present time, and especially in the Evangelical Church. It is a monument of devoted Christian scholarship.

F. C. G.

Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament. 4th ed., revised by Ernst von Dobschütz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923, pp. 12 + 160 + 20 pl. M. 4.81.

New issue of an indispensable handbook of textual criticism, which should be, and let us hope will soon be, further revised to include the discoveries and researches of the past thirteen years—e.g. the Chester Beatty papyri; Canon Streeter's work on the Cæsarean text, as also that of Professor and Mrs Lake, and Professor Blake; Kenyon's theory of the origin of the codex; etc.

The same is true of Vogels' useful Handbook, which first appeared in 1923, as the earnest of a larger work, not yet published. Nestle's manual has been for two generations the most widely used book in its field, and is still useful, in its 1923 form; but it deserves to be brought more fully up to date. F. C. G.

Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. By Walter Bauer. 3d ed. Lfgn. 7-8. Organon—*pleroō*, *plērōma*—*stoicheō*. Coll. 961-1120, 1121-1280. M. 2.80 each.

The new edition of Preuschen-Bauer has now reached *stoicheō*, and will presently be complete. The type, page-size, and format are all an improvement over the earlier editions. How up-to-date it is may be seen, e.g., from the art. on *prosabaton* (= Friday), where the new Greek fragment of Tatian from Dura, ed. by Kraeling, is cited. Account is taken of work done outside Germany, e.g. under *stoicheion* Colson, Easton, Huby, and a 1934 Catholic University dissertation are all cited. Difficulties of exegesis are taken into account—the book is meant to help students, and not be a mere repository for reference or a statistical summary of a language: e.g. *pugnē*, where Mark 7: 3 is explained; or *ptōchos*, where Matt. 5: 3 is viewed as only a more explicit tr. of *anēm*, without any additional emphasis upon the spiritual quality of the poverty praised. The reff. and citations from LXX and from early Christian literature outside the N.T. serve to show the continuity of the language, and to broaden its base. So also the inscriptions—e.g. the Palmyrene for Saul, which is Silas (a fact which must stir the imagination of the reader of Acts!).

It may no doubt appear gross exaggeration to some; but we confess that Bauer's Lexicon is really a fascinating work, and one that can be read consecutively, 'like a book,' and not 'like a dictionary.' F. C. G.

Judaism

Hebrew Union College Annual. Vol. XI. Cincinnati, 1936, pp. 649. \$3.00.

The new annual volume of Hebrew Union College begins with an interesting account of 'Personal Contacts with the Founder of Hebrew Union College,' by David Philipson. The contents of the book range from biblical studies to modern Judaism, as follows: 'Amos Studies, I,' by Julian Morgenstern; 'The Boundaries of Edom,' by Nelson Glueck; 'Studies in Post-Exilic Universalism,' by Sheldon H. Blank; '*Hā'iddānā*,' by Immanuel Löw; '*Tashlik*, A Study in Jewish Ceremonies,' by Jacob Z. Lauterbach; 'Samuel and Moses Ibn Tibbon on Maimonides'

Theory of Providence,' by Z. Diesendruck; 'Grammatical Elements and Terminology in Rashi's Biblical Commentaries,' by Henry Englander; 'The Sermons of Jacob Anatoli,' by Israel Bettan; 'A Final Word to Krauss' "Nachbemerkung" HUCA, X, 307-308, by Jacob Mann; 'Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino's Wander-Years in Italy, 1498-1527,' by Moses Marx; 'The Me'il Zedaqah,' by Abraham Cronbach; 'Traditional Songs of the German (*Tedesco*) Jews in Italy,' by Abraham Z. Idelsohn; 'Authority in Judaism,' by Samuel S. Cohon; 'R. Moše al-Roṭi,' by Michael Wilensky.

F. C. G.

The Alexandrian Halakah in Apologetic Literature of the First Century C. E. By Samuel Belkin. Bloch Publishing Company, n. d., pp. 70. \$1.00.

This is a study of the Halakah presupposed by Philo and Josephus, chiefly Philo's *De Specialibus Legibus* and Josephus's *Contra Apionem* ii. The Halakah deals with such questions as the treatment of animals, theft, sex offenses, the synagogue and the Sabbath, family festivals, burial of the dead, marriage, parents and benefactors, and the priestly character of the Law. It is remarkable how the Halakah on some of these points differs from the Palestinian tradition codified in the Mishnah. Both Philo and Josephus go beyond the prescriptions of the Tannaite tradition. Since upon these points they are in a considerable measure of agreement; and since, at the same time, it is quite unlikely that Josephus has made use of Philo, the most reasonable conclusion is that both drew upon a common source. The source may have been the 'provincial' development of the Halakah in Alexandria; at the same time it may be due to the apologetic statement of Jewish Law—one might even say, apologetic over-statement—in the interest of impressing Gentiles. We must not forget that there was a considerable development of Jewish apologetic in Alexandria and that it began some generations earlier than Philo.

F. C. G.

History of Jewish Literature from the Close of the Bible to our own Days. By Meyer Waxman. Vol. iii. From the middle of the 17th Century to the year 1880. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1936, pp. 12 + 797. \$4.50.

Dr Waxman is now within sight of his goal—the whole history of Jewish literature from the close of the Canon down to the present day in four volumes. The present volume is the first division of modern Hebrew literature and opens with a discussion of the Jew in the modern world and the general characteristics of modern Jewish literature—the reflection of the vigorous, and certainly (at least up to quite recent times) not unsuccessful, effort of the Jew to adapt himself to modern conditions. Everyone knows that the Jew is now writing in practically every field of literature, not just the religious or the historical. The transition has certainly been a tremendous one—for example, from Maimonides to Ludwig Lewisohn—and the end is not yet.

Many little-known names (little-known at any rate to Gentiles) appear in these pages. Naturally a large amount of space is given to Hassidism and to the Haskalah Movement. With the opening of the 19th century and the reform movement, the field of Jewish learning widened somewhat, as Jews entered the ranks of British, German and French writers on science and philosophy. Toward

the end, as is natural, the survey tends to become little more than a list of names of authors and titles of books, though there are good brief accounts of such men as Bacher, Jost, Derenbourg, I. H. Weiss and other 19th century Jewish scholars. As a rule, Dr Waxman gives a brief account of the author's work and a brief outline of the contents of his books, so that although there may be some persons who will read the whole work through, it will undoubtedly be used, at least by Gentile students, chiefly as a work of reference.

Written with learning and enthusiasm as well as insight and sympathy, the book deserves a place on the shelves of all theological libraries. F. C. G.

Yesode Hadat Ha-Universalit al Pi Mekorot Hayahadut. By David S. Shapiro. Bloch, 1936, pp. 48. 75 cents.

This pamphlet attempts to set forth "the foundations of a universal religion based on the sources of Judaism." Among the chapter headings are "Wisdom," "The Chain of Abodah Zarah," "The Living Torah and the Torah of Adam."

S. E. J.

Symphonic Poems: English and Hebrew Lyrics with Music. By Pinchos Jas-sinowsky. Bloch, 1936, pp. 32. 60 cents.

A cantor writes songs expressing the simple everyday life of the Jewish people, as his contribution to neo-Hebrew literature. The English translations leave something to be desired. S. E. J.

Religious Parties in Israel. By Abraham Burstein. Bloch, 1936, pp. 59. \$1.00.

This is a study-book arranged for women of orthodox synagogues. It begins with a brief biblical history outlined in traditional fashion; then comes a chapter on differences in biblical times; then a treatment of various groups and heresies, viz. the Samaritans, Hellenism, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Karaites, Chassidim, and modern deviations. The Pharisees are the true standard bearers of Judaism, and all other groups are painted in the blackest colors to serve as warnings for orthodox Jews today. If this book seems unattractive to us, what an impression some of our confirmation manuals must make on many outside inquirers! S. E. J.

Church History

Origen on First Principles. Translated by G. W. Butterworth. London: S.P.C.K.; New York, Macmillan, 1936, pp. xlii + 342. \$4.50.

The great advantage of this book is the fact that it is based upon Koetschau's text of *De Principiis* (in the Berlin Academy edition of the Greek Fathers). The translation is prefaced by a readable introduction setting forth the main facts of Origen's life, the present treatise (which is the first systematic theological work in Christian history), the translation of Rufinus and his defense of Origen, the controversy between Rufinus and Jerome, and the doctrine contained in the work before us. This introduction concludes with a paragraph worth quoting:

"The weakness of Origen's system, considered as a whole, lies in its assumption that the entire cosmic process is a mistake, due to the misuse of free-will. He re-

gards it as axiomatic that the end must be like the beginning. Is there nothing, then, to be accomplished in these vast stretches of time? Can God do no more than restore things to the position they were in before the primeval fall? If we are to take Origen literally, it would appear that God cannot. History, however long drawn out, is but the mending of an original fault. We have it on good authority that in one passage he even said that perfected souls would be swallowed up in the divine essence from which they sprang. Such a system of thought is at heart pessimistic, and it was perhaps some instinctive apprehension of this fact which caused the Church to turn away from it. But we must not be blind to the nobility of Origen's achievement. It is the work of a good and a brave man whose supreme desire was to know the truth. As such it is still worthy of our respectful attention, and wherever the love of truth is found, there will Origen never fail to receive his meed of gratitude and reverence."

The introduction is followed by a good working bibliography—though one would like to see in it a reference to Westcott's famous essay 'Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy' (*Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West*, pp. 194-252)—an essay still worth reading. Among recent writers on Origen Dr Butterworth has quite properly paid considerable attention to de Faye.

The book was printed in India. Perhaps this accounts for the difficulty the typesetter had with some of the Greek (which is in too large a font for the foot-notes) and also the fact that two or three different kinds of paper were used in the printing.

F. C. G.

The Political Ideas of St Augustine's De Civitate Dei. (Historical Association pamphlet no. 104.) By Norman H. Baynes. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1936, pp. 18. 1s.

Makes the point that Augustine's condemnation of the *civitas terrena* applies to the pagan or paganized state alone, where *justitia* fails, not to the political order as such.

N.

A Church History Chart. By Frederick A. Schilling.

A very useful and ingenious conspectus which may be purchased for 50 cents from the author at Walla Walla College, College Place, Wash. Some people might be distressed to find Anglo-Catholicism sandwiched in between the Mormons and the Seventh-day Adventists!

N.

The Church: her Purpose. By Agnes Van Kirk. 1936, pp. 77. 25 cents.

A practical running sketch of Church history to exhibit the Catholic lineage and inheritance of the Anglican communion. Makes no claim to be scholarly and contains occasional inaccuracies. Takes the "three-branch" theory for granted without reservation or criticism. If used with caution it might be studied with profit by Church School or adult classes. The booklet may be obtained from the author at 206 E. Penn St., Germantown, Philadelphia.

N.

Meister Eckhart: Die deutschen und Lateinischen Werke. Hrsg. in Auftrage der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Three Lfqn. M.1 each. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936.

The first installments of a sumptuous new edition of the German and Latin works of Meister Eckhart, the former to fill two volumes, 8" by 11", the latter five, with a volume of indices. A full text-critical apparatus is given, often filling most of the page, in the German part; and a full citation of parallels appears in a second apparatus. The Latin volumes have a textual apparatus, an apparatus of citations, and a readable German translation.

F. C. G.

American Church History

Christianity in America. By E. G. Homrighausen. Abingdon, 1936, pp. 7 + 227. \$2.00.

This book is both an analysis of the forces making for the confusion apparent in American Protestantism and an appeal "to recover the *Christian Truth* which is beyond our creation or party control but which is promised to us for our knowledge if we seek it together." The author, who is America's foremost interpreter of Karl Barth, clearly shows his indebtedness to him and incidentally makes clear how much of real value we might learn from a careful study of the great German theologian. The book is divided into two parts. Part I is analytical and presents a picture of American Protestantism. Part II is constructive and describes what the author believes to be the essence of the Christian truth so necessary to reassert. The chapter headings, "Christian Preaching," "The Newer Bible," "Recovering the Church," "Who is Jesus Christ?," "The Christian Message," indicate clearly the general content. It is to be hoped that not only many Protestants but also Churchmen will read this book and ponder it, for there is much of vital value in it. It is simply written and packed with stimulating suggestions.

P. S. K.

An Apostle of Reality: the Life and Thought of the Reverend William Porcher DuBose. By Theodore DuBose Bratton. Longmans, 1936, pp. x + 214. \$2.00.

Dr DuBose served as a Confederate soldier in the Civil War, showed great gallantry and was wounded several times, rose to the rank of colonel, and returned to his South Carolina home to be ordained to the ministry and to become professor at Sewanee and possibly the greatest of American theologians. His nephew, the Bishop of Mississippi, tells the story of his life and the development of his thought as only a southerner, kinsman and Sewanee man can do, and gives what amounts to a rich catena of quotations from the great doctor's works.

Dr DuBose was a pioneer in at least three respects: in his championing of biblical criticism, in his modern interpretation of Christology and soteriology, and in his sturdy work for Christian reunion. He was scrupulously orthodox, and arrived at his orthodoxy not by the threshing over of old straws but by original research into the New Testament and early church history. The seeds of his later scholarship were sown when he lay on the battlefield, and without the

hindrance of lexicon or commentary, puzzled out the meaning of the Epistle to the Romans in Greek; the story of this, once read, is unforgettable.

Although Bishop Bratton does not say it in so many words, the secret of Dr DuBose's life, humanly speaking, seems to be that besides coming out of a splendid environment and receiving the best training available, he was a man of wide experience and contacts before entering the priesthood, and after his ordination sought and made friends of many sorts and conditions. There was nothing in Dr DuBose of the hothouse plant or dreamy theorist. The Bishop of Mississippi has laid upon the American Church a debt of gratitude for his presentation of the personality and work of its great theologian.

S. E. J.

Across the Years. By Charles Stedman Macfarland. Macmillan, 1936, pp. xi + 367. \$2.75.

As the trend of thought of the twentieth century seems to be increasingly toward social service, world peace and church unity this autobiography should be read with much interest. Dr Macfarland has been a courageous and energetic pioneer in trying to bring about more friendly and understanding relations between the Church and Industry, in endeavoring to evolve some international plan of action with regard to world peace and Protestant unity. At the age of seventy he looks back 'across the years,' evaluating the work that has been done, and the many notable men and women he has met. His delightfully frank characterizations 'reveal important historical information not hitherto made public.' A few of the names we find mentioned in this book are the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Balfour, Adolf Hitler, Victor Monod, Woodrow Wilson, Samuel Gompers.

C. E. H. F.

Doctrine

Contemporary English Theology. By Walter Marshall Horton. Harper, 1936, pp. xix + 186. \$2.00.

The author intends his book to be a brief review of English theological thinking since 1907, in order to prove his contention—which is, that American theologians had better look to England than to Germany for constructive and suggestive leadership in their field.

In pursuit of his task, he first analyzes the general course of English theology and shows that there have been three persistent traditions: (1) Catholic: Roman or Anglican; (2) Protestant: Puritan or Evangelical; (3) Liberal: Platonic, scientific or idealistic. His book as a whole is simply a descriptive and critical account of these traditions.

His conclusion is that on the whole idealistic liberalism has died, handing on the liberal point of view to other schools; while both Catholic and Protestant groups have modernized their method, and another party which he calls the 'central' group has emerged, of which Archbishop Temple is the best example. He feels that this assures a much more comprehensive and truly 'catholic' point of view than does the Barthian which is Germany's latest contribution to theological thinking.

The book, while forbidden by its brevity from going deeply into the problems of modern theology, is an exceedingly thoughtful piece of work and deserves careful reading by anyone who wishes to approach these problems from every possible side.

F. A. M.

The Christian Answer to the Problem of Evil. By J. S. Whale. Abingdon, 1936, pp. 96. \$1.00.

Three addresses given at Northfield, together with a chapter dealing with listeners' questions. The book begins with four classic answers to the problem, none of which is entirely satisfactory: viz. that God is the cause of all that is, and therefore must for some reason 'create evil,' as the prophet said; or, evil may be viewed as an illusion; or, it is only the foil of good; or, there is the answer of dualism—'a hierarchy of demonic powers' opposing God.

Christian theism being a realistic view of the world cannot accept the unreality of evil; nor can it impute to God the principle that 'the end justifies the means,' and that therefore God may 'do evil that good may come.' The Christian answer is found in the Cross of Christ. Evil is real, but God is engaged in the process of overcoming it, bringing good out of it, and securing the ultimate victory of the good.

F. C. G.

A Faith for Today. By Harris Franklin Rall. Abingdon Press, 1936, pp. 284. \$2.00.

Dr Harris Franklin Rall of Garrett Biblical Institute is known far and wide throughout religious circles in America as a teacher of theology with a fresh, modern outlook. There is nothing of the 'dry-as-dust' theologian about him; and in his presentation of theology, religion is always at its vital centre. His theology stands in the closest possible relation to the Christian faith which he undertakes to express and to expound. Dr Rall's interpretation of religion includes both the social and the individual emphasis. When he comes to write a book like the one before us, *A Faith for Today*, this two-fold quality is especially marked. His sanity and balance of mind, the depth and sincerity of his religious convictions, the breadth of his sympathies, and his insight into the mind of our generation, qualify him in an unusual degree to interpret the Faith to modern readers. *A Faith for Today* is not something new in the way of religions, it is still the Christian Faith; and its validity for today is the main point of the book, which 'is written for men who want a faith by which to live, who wish to hold it intelligently; who want to face honestly all the facts bearing upon the matter, and then with equal honesty ask what such a faith means for life.'

The range of subjects is wide and inclusive: 'The Meaning of Faith,' 'What Religion Is and Does,' 'What the Christian Religion Is,' 'What the Christian Religion Essentially Is,' 'Science and Religion,' how one can know God and how we must think of him, 'God and the World,' 'God and the Fact of Evil,' what man is, and what sin is and does, what it means to be saved, 'Prayer,' 'The Meaning and Place of the Bible,' the Church, 'The Life to Come,' Christianity as a social faith—these are among the subjects handled with great clarity and with no minimizing of the author's own convictions. He has stated it as his aim to

write "in plainest English, using the language of that everyday world where religion belongs, to include no theme merely because it belongs to the tradition of the Church, and to avoid no question because it is difficult or dangerous to the religious view." We can only say that this effort has been entirely successful.

The nineteen chapters of this book would make an excellent text for a study group and in fact the author has had this in mind for he has added a series of questions for discussion and a brief bibliography at the end of each chapter. Although this is a book which ministers and theological students will be among the first to buy, I wish to point out that it is emphatically a book for the layman interested in religion and perhaps faced with some of the problems of working out a coherent intellectual statement of his faith in the face of modern difficulties. He will not find that his thinking has been done for him. Instead he will find a great amount of help and suggestion in thinking out anew and for himself those basic convictions about God and about the meaning of human life upon which Christianity rests.

F. C. G.

Through Science to God. By Nathan A. Smyth. New York: Macmillan, 1936, pp. vi + 213. \$2.50.

In the first part of this book, Jeans, Eddington and Co. are made good use of in giving a readable account of the methods and attitudes of modern scientists. Towards the end, although the author has previously disparaged Metaphysics, he becomes metaphysical and perhaps thus illustrates the saying that the only alternative to metaphysics is bad metaphysics. His Totalitarian God is no more attractive than the Totalitarian State.

A. H. F.

Preaching; Pastoral Theology

The Miracle of Preaching. By J. Edgar Park. Macmillan, 1936, pp. 184. \$1.75.

This is the 1936 volume of the Yale Lectures on Preaching and deserves a high place in that noteworthy series.

One must admire the author's constant insistence of the necessity of the individual preacher doing some careful thinking for himself as well as upon the hard work which must precede effective composition and delivery.

In addition to the reiteration of these old but often forgotten truths, Dr Park has provided his readers with a remarkable anthology of references to preaching in English literature from Chaucer down to the present. The difficulties which the preacher of today experiences are quite evidently not new.

Altogether the book is helpful and charming and has a freshness which is challenging.

F. A. M.

The Life and Work of a Priest. By W. H. G. Holmes. 1936, pp. vii + 160. \$2.00.

This book contains a series of simple instructions on the duties in the life of a priest. It was originally planned for priests in one of the Anglican dioceses of India but its merits of simplicity and forth-rightness make it a valuable help to clergy everywhere. The chapters on Meditation, on Prayer and on a Rule of

Life are to be particularly commended. The author would undoubtedly be classed as an Anglo-Catholic; but his avoidance of the vocabulary of any particular school makes his counsels more generally appreciated and acceptable.

F. A. M.

After Death. By Leslie D. Weatherhead. Abingdon Press, 1936, pp. 191. \$1.00.

This book has as its sub-title, *A Popular Statement of the Modern Christian View of Life Beyond the Grave*, which more or less accurately describes its contents. The book is homiletical rather than philosophical in its approach. Its evangelical character is indicated in the author's contention that the whole of our eschatology is wrong if it presupposes a God who is anything less than the Father whom Jesus revealed.

In his view of the nature of life after death, Mr Weatherhead finds the poets, especially Browning and Tennyson, the truest guides. Hell, shorn of its worst terrors, becomes in Browning's words—

"That sad obscure sequestered state,
Where God unmakes but to remake the soul
He else made first in vain; which must not be."

In other words, the conception of hell is replaced by that of Purgatory. Heaven is thought of, as in Tennyson's words, in terms of closer communion with God, new perception of truth, fellowship with kindred minds, and service. The soul of the modern—

"desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky;
Give her the wages of going on, and not to die."

Such a hell and such a heaven cannot in the nature of the case continue indefinitely. After taking a side glance at the possibility of endless loss involved in moral freedom, the author trustfully concludes that it is "a very dim one." "Finally in the great consummation not one note will create a discord, nor will a single player be missing when that great harmony resounds through the courts of heaven acclaiming the last unending victory of God." The logical conclusion appears to be that hell and heaven, while differing prodigiously, are paths which lead eventually to the same blissful destination! But the author, while sharing with Robert Browning and with Canon Farrar and with Henry Ward Beecher this "eternal hope," also shares with them the morality that finds the way of the obdurately sinful very long and lonely, dark with dread and psychic pain, until in the long last he yields to a Father's unvanquishable love.

H. C. R.

Victorious Living. By E. Stanley Jones. Abingdon, 1936, pp. 380. \$2.00.

Out of his deep personal conviction and experience with the Christian Ashram Group Movement in India the author has given us a book of daily devotions which ought to be of great assistance in developing and strengthening the inner life of many members of his "reader public." Although the volume appears at first

to be another *Forward Day by Day* for a whole year, it is so constructed as to be useful for a weekly study or discussion group and perhaps even of value for continuous reading. The various sections are united by a progression in the argument and a common devotional viewpoint.

Beginning with a consideration of the alternatives of the theistic conviction the author moves on to an acceptance of God "who gives basis and lasting meaning to my purpose." God as revealed in Christ is the answer to our "cry for life" (the book's definition of religion), and He can be found only as we break down the barriers which we have erected against His love for us. We must completely surrender our wills to His Will and the tests of the reality of our submission are five. Am I truthful—honest—pure—loving—consecrated (unselfish)? After laying the foundation in this way Stanley Jones goes on to describe Victorious Living in terms of its personal and social applications and concludes the series of meditations by detailing certain qualities of that Way of Life. Each daily unit consists of a selected Bible reading, an exposition of the idea contained in the selection, and a prayer suitable to the scripture lesson of the day.

The author's "evangelical" viewpoint permeates the whole book and his fervor combined with a profound spiritual and psychological insight make his approach to personal religion both stimulating and satisfying. The illustrations of his points are apt and striking, easily remembered and moving in their simplicity.

There are weaknesses, of course. Notable is the distorted exegesis of certain Biblical passages veering almost to allegory in some instances, e.g. texts related to the Eucharist and the Kingdom of God. Also, the inferior grade of paper and typography make sustained reading of the book unattractive and difficult.

Worthy of special attention is the author's treatment of pain and suffering, of prayer, and of the common criticism frequently made of his own writings in the past that the individual cannot be saved without first redeeming his environment. Stanley Jones evidences beyond a doubt his realization that personal salvation and social salvation are complementary.

A. D. K.

Christianity is Christ. By C. C. Martindale. Sheed & Ward, 1936, pp. viii + 311. \$2.50.

Published originally between 1927 and 1930 as five separate books these excellent sermons are now presented in one volume, each of the five sections grouping together the sermons of the original course:

Christ is King, The Kingdom and the World, The Wounded World, The Creative Words of Christ, and The Cup of Christ—these are the general subjects of series preached at Westminster Cathedral, Farm Street Church, and at the Church of Our Lady of Victories.

Father Martindale is an excellent preacher, with a style not unlike that of the great John Henry Newman. Here for example is a Newmanesque passage on the Church: "She is no inert block, lying there upon the surface of the world; her life goes burrowing, penetrating, stealing to and fro, altering, assimilating, sometimes rejecting or rejected by an alien antagonistic life, but leavening always, creating unlooked for movements, provoking strange reactions, angers, fears, contempts, flights, revolts amid the most disconcerting of amalgams." To be sure Newman would not have injured the music of such a passage by the harsh word "amalgams,"

and his subtle mind would have moved in and out of the thought with a much more flowing graceful movement; nevertheless there is throughout the book much of the great Cardinal's manner in skilfully molding argument, utilizing telling figures of speech, and leaving the general impression of being *au courant* with contemporary thought and life. Of course the assumption throughout is that the "Church on earth cannot possibly be uprooted or substantially altered because she is ruled and dominated by her Christ-appointed, Christ-guaranteed, Christ-representing Pope, her infallible head, the Bishop of Rome."

Nevertheless the sermons are in the main evangelical and soundly orthodox, besides being very suggestive, and in many spots genuinely liberal and even irenic.

G. C. S.

Haggerston Sermons. By H. A. Wilson, with drawings by Clare Dawson. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 222. \$1.40.

Quaint sermons, curiously illustrated, providing curious texts and short plain homely sermons for simple people who worship, like the folk of St Augustine's, Haggerston, in an Anglo-Catholic Parish Church.

Here are a few texts, together with their themes:

Home—Rev. 21: 2, "I John saw."

Mother—St John 2: 1, "The mother of Jesus was there."

Eighty Prayers—St James 4: 2, "Ye have not because ye ask not."

Five, Two, One—St Matt. 25: 5.

But—Acts 12: 5.

Nevertheless—St Luke 5: 5.

Who?—Psalm 24: 3.

There are 52 sermons, one for each Sunday in the year. While they are distinctly English in their tone, and out and out Catholic as well, yet any American priest would find them stimulating and very suggestive. Their brevity and clarity and hard hitting quality give them a distinction far beyond the average.

G. C. S.

Religious Education

Learning about God and His Way. By Lala C. and Leon C. Palmer. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 126. Manual 75 cents. Leaflets 25 cents per quarterly set.

We have here a Teachers' Manual and Lesson Leaflets for the Second Primary Course in the Christian Living Series. In the Manual we possess not only very suggestive hints for the teaching of the individual lessons but also a whole group of suggestions for projects to be used with the course and a scheme to adapt it to the Christian year.

The leaflets are planned attractively and should be helpful for children of this age. The authors give evidence of knowledge of modern educational method and show experience in actual teaching.

F. A. M.

My Own Life of Christ. By Alice M. Brookman. Morehouse, 1936. 45 cents.

This 'work-book' on the life of Our Lord is very well planned and when properly used by a teacher should result in a good knowledge of the fundamental facts

about that all-important subject, together with some pertinent suggestions for the embodiment of those facts in every-day living.

It is loose-leaved but the pages are punched to fit standard binders. It is commended as a most helpful method of project study. F. A. M.

How the Church Began. The Pastoral Series: Course Four. By R. S. Chalmers. Morehouse, 1936, pp. vi + 244. \$1.35.

This course on the Book of Acts is based on the principle of one subject for the whole Church School, the presentation, however, adapted to each grade. There is a preliminary instruction with set questions and answers to be given in Church to the whole school and then notes for the teachers of Junior and Senior classes. Senior classes dislike pietistic homilies and are interested in 'critical' questions: there are plenty of such connected with the Book of Acts, but they are scarcely alluded to in this manual and no mention is made of Josephus whose writings so often illuminate the New Testament story. Mistakes in books which professors write for other professors to read and review do not matter much; popular books, on the other hand, should be accurate, and the Athenians did not erect an altar to "The Unknown God." A. H. F.

Devotional

Practicing the Presence: A Quest for God. By Ralph S. Cushman. Abingdon, 1936, pp. 202. \$1.00.

This small book is symptomatic of the growing interest in the interior spiritual life. The author is a Bishop of the Methodist Communion, of long and wide experience. He writes primarily for his own people. The Wesleyan tradition is strong within him. While this may narrow the appeal of the book, very likely it will increase its usefulness for those for whom it is chiefly intended. Certain tendencies in recent Methodism are in sharp contrast to the spirit and principles of its great founders. Bishop Cushman is aware of this and seeks, in what seems to him the most effective way, to bring his co-religionists back to the sources of their strength.

Four weeks of daily meditations are provided. Each week has its own topic: "Lord, how is it?", "Seven Steps to Reality," "Religious Uncertainty," "Christian Technique." Each meditation includes verses, and a closing prayer, of the author's own composition.

The book hardly fulfils the promise of its title. It is not a manual of devotion. A few, and rather general, suggestions of "technique" are given in the last section. There is a good deal of moralizing and "sermonizing" not strictly in line with the author's avowed purpose. The conversational and anecdotal style makes easy reading at the cost of terseness and directness. On the other hand, there is in it a manifest earnestness, springing from a very real spiritual experience, and a strong loyalty to the Evangelical faith, though perhaps not quite at its fullest. The book should do good to many. P. M. R.

In the Likeness of Christ. By Edward Leen. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1936, pp. xxiv + 361. \$2.50.

A devotional book is a contradiction in terms: no book written for publication could be devotional, hence Marcus Aurelius *To Himself* and the anonymous *Imitation of Christ* are almost the only devotional books there are. This book does not profess to be devotional in spite of its title; it is a series of studies of the human character of Christ and it is a book 'for the times' because its attitude to the modern mind is so often 'in reverse': read for example the chapter on 'The Triumph of Failure' and then read a *Diocesan Magazine*. A. H. F.

As Far as I can See. By Winifred Kirkland. Scribner, 1936, pp. 233. \$2.00.

This book, written by a Vassar graduate and former teacher of classics at Bryn Mawr to a New York business woman of twenty-eight, is a ringing exposition of Christianity as 'a life in the continuously available presence of the person Jesus.' Throughout the volume, there are delightful phrases such as express the author's admiration for the old-time American's 'intrepid friendliness' and describe the martyrs 'threading black paganism in thin, winding, torchlit streams.'

She attempts through prayer to reconcile her joyous mysticism and her acute discontent over disunity, militarism and social injustice. H. M. G.

Job the Man Speaks with God. By Peter Lippert. Tr. by George N. Shuster. Longman, 1936, pp. viii + 224. \$2.50.

This is an uninspired translation of an uninspiring gloomy book, written for devotional use, in the form of a dialogue between man and God. The author, a German Jesuit, seems to have derived very little of comfort or of insight into life either from his own experiences or from his Church. C. E. H. F.

Songs in the Night. By A. Poor Clare Colettine. Sheed and Ward, 1936, pp. vi + 217. \$2.50.

Prose, which reaches to prose poetry in many places. A song of love of God, a hymn sung in the midst of sorrow, suffering, work, play and weariness. A canticle born of the soul's interior vision of God. This song of the soul has as its subject the ineffable Reality; God in the Soul and the Soul in God, through Christ Jesus. The song of a joyful radiant flowing love which aspires to God. A song which brings a sense of being with God and ends with the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people."

A sustained pæan of praise of the love of God which does not easily lend itself to cursory reading. It is fresh and jubilant throughout. The author borrows in thought as well as context from Dionysius the Areopagite, the Canticle of Canticles, St John of the Cross and other mystic writers. Her thought is easily followed, but it would be difficult to keep pace with her spiritual experience.

Extremely well worth reading in a day when words as well as souls plod a bit too wearily. F. A. C.

Miscellaneous

He Careth For You: Messages of Hope for the Sick. By Arthur W. Hopkins. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 56. 45 cents.

The Divine Gardener. Arthur Karney. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 63. 60 cents.

Instructions on the Holy Communion. By S. A. Howard. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 88. 60 cents.

At One: Tower Hill and Its Questions. By Harold Rew. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 118. 40 cents.

Midweek Talks: Broadcast Addresses. By W. H. Elliot. Morehouse, 1936, pp. 87. 80 cents.

Adventure in Faith. By James S. Russell. Morehouse, 1936, pp. xii + 117. 85 cents.

An autobiographical story of St Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia, one of the institutions of the Episcopal Church.

Record of a Conference between Representatives of the Augustana Synod and of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, 1936, pp. 44. \$1.00.

The mimeographed record of a conference held at Evanston, December 3-4, 1935, on the subject of unity between the Augustana Synod and the Protestant Episcopal Church. The subjects discussed were the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, the Holy Communion, the Historic Creeds and the Historic Episcopate.

Corpus Confessionum. Lfg. 31. d. by Caius Fabricius. Berlin: De Gruyter and Co., 1936, pp. 241-320. M. 7.

This is an installment of Division VI of Fabricius' great collection of Creeds and Confessions, and contains documents of the Old Catholic Churches in America and the Liberal Catholic (London: 1935).

The Oxford Shakespeare. Ed. by W. J. Craig. Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. viii + 1352. \$1.00.

This is a reprint in handy form and at an extraordinarily low price of the Oxford Shakespeare, its text being based upon the First Folio of 1623 and the Quartos issued during Shakespeare's lifetime—although at the time of Shakespeare's death in 1616 no less than twenty-one of his plays were still in manuscript. A short glossary is added to the volume and there is a table giving the dates and historical order with notes upon the sequence.

For all its compact size the type used is legible, the paper is thin but opaque, and the price is simply marvellous. It will be a great boon to students.

F. C. G.

For the Clergy

THE LIFE AND WORK OF A PRIEST

By the Rev. W. H. G. Holmes, M.A.

Instructions on the Catholic priesthood and its duties originally prepared at the request of a bishop in India for Indian priests and deacons. The teaching therefore is simple and elementary. The book deals only with principles and makes no attempt to offer discussions on methods of worship and work. Some of the illustrations, drawn from Indian conditions and inapplicable to English or American life, have been removed; but the author believes that all that has been retained will be appropriate to the life of a priest wherever he may be called to serve.

THE PRIEST AND HIS INTERIOR LIFE

By the Rev. Gregory Mabry

"Father Mabry in this book gives from his own experience some extremely practical and helpful suggestions and directions for the busy priest of today who desires to practise his vocation more effectively. His consciousness of the difficulties involved in the task and at the same time his clear understanding of the ideals results in his offering a valuable addition to the field of practical direction in the priestly life. An excellent bibliography covering various fields in which the priest needs to be informed supplements the text. Without a doubt many seminarians and priests will be grateful for this contribution."—*American Church Monthly*.

HAGGERSTON SERMONS

By the Rev. H. A. Wilson

The author of this book, who is vicar of St. Augustine's, Haggerston, an East London Church, has found that his parishioners will listen attentively to the sermon if the preacher does not apologize for himself, his sermon, or his subject; does not allow himself to be disconcerted by audible comments from his listeners; can make people smile, without "trying to be funny"; and is manifestly in the pulpit because he has something to say, rather than because he has to say something. The result is this book of fifty-two highly original sermons for the Church's Year, definitely Anglo-Catholic in their teachings.

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